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THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES  
AND LANGUAGES

VOLUME XI

# CHATEAUBRIAND AND HOMER

With a study of some of the French sources  
of his classical information

BY

CHARLES RANDALL HART

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS  
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

LES PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES  
DE FRANCE, PARIS







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AND HOMER**





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## PREFACE

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The relationship of Chateaubriand to antiquity has already been studied in two doctoral dissertations presented at the Johns Hopkins University, « Chateaubriand et la Bible », by J. Van Ness, and « Chateaubriand and Virgil » (manuscript ) by L. H. Naylor. The present thesis attempts to deal with a third phase of the subject, « Chateaubriand and Homer ». In order to institute a comparison between the two authors an analysis of the Homeric style was deemed necessary. Such an analysis could, of course, only cover those points which Homer and Chateaubriand possess in common. For a more complete analysis the reader is referred to the authorities mentioned in the bibliography, though the list there given is by no means exhaustive.

It will be seen that throughout the present study the theory that the Homeric poems are the work of several hands is taken for granted. Hardly any of the conclusions here reached would however be altered if the converse were assumed to be true.

In the course of his study of the relationship between the father of Greek epic and Chateaubriand the present author came across indications of certain French sources of the latter's classical information which he has tried, however unsuccessfully, to introduce without confusion into the treatment of his more specific problem.

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# CHATEAUBRIAND AND HOMER

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## I. — INTRODUCTION

Greek studies in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.  
The prose epic before Chateaubriand.

It must be apparent to the most superficial reader of Chateaubriand that the Greek author who exerted the strongest influence upon him is Homer. Two of his prose writings are prose epics and a third book, « *L'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* », describes a journey undertaken, the author tells us, in order to obtain local color for the second of these epics, « *Les Martyrs* ». In addition to these works of considerable magnitude, Chateaubriand is known, (and here, to be sure, is his true title to fame) as the author of three contes, « *Atala* », « *René* », « *Le Dernier Abencérage* » ; a theologico-aesthetic work, « *Le Génie du Christianisme* », and an autobiography, « *Les Mémoires d'outre tombe* ». His other writings, numerous as they are, interest us only in relationship to these major performances. It will thus be seen that roughly half of the best known works of Chateaubriand were composed under the influence of the epic tradition. However great then may have been the influence of any other Greek writer upon the author of « *Les Martyrs* », his influence can hardly challenge comparison with that of the founder of epic poetry. No apology is therefore needed for devoting a study of Chateaubriand and Greek Literature primarily to Homer and only in a lesser degree to other writers. In the chapters that follow, the relationship of Chateaubriand to Homer will always be our principal concern.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

I

In inquiring whether the Homeric poems have influenced an author or a period, we must always remember that there was more than one Homer. We need not, to be sure, concern ourselves with each and every one of the many Homers who through two centuries collaborated in producing the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey », each with his particular stamp of temperament and hence of style, but it is important to recall that between those who began and those who completed the task, there is a vast difference. Neglecting minor gradations we may say that there are in the main two Homeric styles, the older, or more truly epic, the martial, and the later, the patriarchal. The poets of the earlier period celebrated the warrior ; the poets of the later, while still celebrating the warrior, devote equal attention to the prudent wife and the naïve maid. The « Iliad » is largely the work of the first period ; the « Odyssey » is, in the main, the product of the second, and we may therefore correctly call the epic style the style of the « Iliad » and the patriarchal, the style of the « Odyssey ». But at times we must remember that the patriarchal style is to be found in the « Iliad » and the epic in the « Odyssey », according as we are dealing with the older or more recent portions of these poems.

Now, though not consciously differentiated until the last century, the two Homers have always been independently active. They were, as one might say, two poles attracting men of unlike temperaments, and those who were attracted to the one Homer were, in many cases, unconsciously perhaps, repelled by the other. Not that it is impossible to accept both Homers at once, any more than it is impossible to accept all Shakespeare or the entire work of any many-sided author. But in general men show preferences in these matters, a circumstance which enables us to follow the course of popular feeling in the two centuries preceding Chateaubriand's time and to decide which of the two Homers was the more active, the Homer of the « Iliad » or he of the « Odyssey ».

It is a well known fact that from the time of the *chanson de geste* to the time of Chateaubriand, French literature was almost wholly wanting in the epic spirit. The few epics that exist, including the only one the very name of



which is known to the general reader, « *La Henriade* » of Voltaire, are all pale imitations of Virgil, Lucan or later epic writers, and not one of them can be read with pleasure today. And there is no translation either of the « *Iliad* » or the « *Odyssey* » worthy of mention before those of M<sup>me</sup> Dacier (*Iliad*, 1699-1711 ; *Odyssey*, 1708-1716), versions which, to be frank, are known less for their own merits than for the part they played in the Battle of the Ancients and Moderns. Yet Amyot had made notable translations of Plutarch, Heliodorus and Longus years before. One is led to ask, why seek for the influence of Homer in French literature at all ? The question would be hard to answer, were there only one Homer, the truly epic and martial Homer. But there is another Homer, the patriarchal and at times almost bucolic Homer, and his influence, we find, was strongly felt. Without going back too far, let us look for the influence of the second Homer in the two centuries preceding the time of Chateaubriand's maturity.

In the seventeenth century we find two writers of first-rate importance, Racine and Fénelon, who felt the influence of Homer. In the Mesnard edition of Racine (Hachette, 1865), we find many evidences of the author's studies in Greek. We learn there that he annotated several Greek authors (Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides in particular), that he translated from Plato's « *Banquet* » and Aristotle's « *Art of Poetry* », and finally that he wrote commentaries of some length on Pindar's « *Olympics* » and Homer's « *Odyssey* ». The commentary on the « *Odyssey* » runs to the end of the tenth book, is some one hundred and fifty pages in length and was written in 1642, probably at Uzès, where Racine was living two years before the publication of his first play, « *La Thébaïde* ». The value of this commentary for us is that in it Racine reveals, as was to be expected, his love for the patriarchal Homer, the Homer who portrayed the hospitality of chieftains to strangers and all the beauty of family relations. Modern scholars consider the first four books, one of the later parts of the « *Odyssey* », a rather slow-moving introduction to a work of spirit and fire. But Racine enjoys dwelling on the least detail in these books. Would this not show that what

attracts Racine in the Homeric poems is the atmosphere of leisure so wanting in the breathless pages of the « Iliad » ? The commentary continues through the episode of the Phaeacians with Odysseus' journey to the land of Alcinous, his reception by Nausicaa, the naïve princess, and his arrival at court. It is regrettable that Racine's study remains incomplete : his observations on later episodes, more dramatic than these, would have been interesting. Perhaps it was not merely the want of time, but also the waning of interest, as the story grew more intense, that made the author interrupt his commentary where he did. Racine was, of course, able to appreciate a tense and dramatic situation—his plays are evidence of that—but the intensity he loves is a sentimental intensity not found in any degree in Homer.

That Racine did not see Homer as we do is shown by the fact that he mentions in the same breath Heliodorus, the author of the most successful of the Greek romances, « The Aethiopian Romance », and Homer. Although much of the inspiration of Heliodorus and other Greek writers of romance comes from the Orient, particularly in the intricate weaving of their plots, there are many respects in which they may be accounted disciples of Homer. There are several scenes in the « Aethiopian Romance », for example, the pursuit of an enemy around the walls of a city, which are imitated from the Homeric poems, and the wandering hero of Heliodorus, separated from his love, may be compared to Odysseus separated from Penelope. In fact, one may say that all of Homer is there except his simplicity and his truth to human character. In only the late portions of the « Odyssey » do we find recourse to magic, whereas in the « Aethiopica » there is magic from end to end. But when Racine mentions the two authors together it would seem that he considers the two worlds very much alike, the real world of Homer (for Homer's characters are real even when they move in fairyland) and the unreal world (though geographically real) of Heliodorus. Though able to deal with Homer in the original (for he quotes him copiously in Greek) Racine is yet not discriminating enough to see the vast gulf between the father of epic and his latest Greek imitator,

whom we know he read in Amyot's translation, though perhaps also in the Greek.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that of the two Homers, one, the late Homer, did make his influence felt in France, but only in a diluted form. Amyot's translations of Heliodorus and of « Daphnis and Chloe » and the imitations of Greek romance by writers of the Renaissance in Italy, France and Spain, not to mention the Alexandrian poets, Virgil and their successors in Greece and Rome, stood in the way. The background of romance was too vast and Homer, the true Homer, could not stand out against it with sufficient distinctness. In France the national temper had, since the days of Corneille (than whom no one ever better understood the epic spirit), grown incapable of admiring, at least very warmly, manners that were not those of a courtier. Only that portion of Homer which contains pictures of domestic or patriarchal happiness could naturally appeal to it. Now to be sure there is very little in Homer that may be called truly courtly, but there is a simplicity, tempered with kindness and devotion, which is closely allied to it. This the French were capable of appreciating, particularly as in the refining of their manners they reached a point where a pseudo-simplicity appealed to them and where they turned from the courtier to the rustic, as before they had turned from the soldier to the courtier.

If Racine was the first to feel strongly the influence of the « Odyssey » in the seventeenth century, Fénelon was the second. Here we should expect to find the influence even stronger, for if we know of Racine's interest in Homer from a little-known commentary, composed in his leisure moments, the most widely read of Fénelon's works, the « Télémaque », purports to be an imitation of the « Odyssey ». Other Greek influences may have been at work in Fénelon's case, as in that of Racine, for he is the author of dialogues, the inspiration for which is ostensibly to be sought in Plato and Lucian. But let us consider what affinity exists between the « Télémaque » and the early Greek epics.

The « Télémaque » is based on the « Odyssey » both as to its theme, the wanderings of Telemachus, and as to its



form, the division into twenty-four books and its employment of the simile. For a minor difference one notes the want of a formal invocation of the muse in the « *Télémaque* ». But that is only the beginning of dissimilarity. The scenes of war are no more Homeric than those of Virgil, the work of a poet who felt such scenes necessary to the completeness of his poem, but who certainly felt none of the zest of the author he was imitating. The resemblance is only formal. Of the characters of the « *Odyssey* » Fénelon has seized upon, to play a leading role, one who plays a very inconspicuous part in the « *Odyssey* » and that only in a portion of the poem now suspected to be of a later date and inferior workmanship, the Mentor of the first four books, the same slow-moving introduction that appealed to Racine. In the real action of the latter half of the poem, Mentor plays no part except in apocryphal passages. But not only is a leading character taken from an inferior portion of the work, the plot of a hero wandering from place to place in search of his father, comes from that inferior part too. This is not to say that the plot of the « *Télémaque* » is wanting in interest, but it would surely have more and would contain more of the Homeric spirit if it had been modeled on what is the kernel of the « *Odyssey* », the return of Odysseus. The objection to this in Fénelon's mind would doubtless have been that it would have narrowed the scope of his epic to Ithaca ; he wished, like the Greek romances, the known world for the scene of his story.

Who among the characters of the « *Télémaque* » may be compared to a character in the « *Odyssey* » ? If the Telemachus of the one poem resembles the Telemachus of the other, it is because in neither poem may he be considered a fully developed character. Who is there in the « *Télémaque* » to remind us of Odysseus and Penelope or the swineherd or Penelope's nurse ? Yet the imitator of Homer should surely be a creator of character.

Another point of contrast or comparison with Homer would be Fénelon's use of the Homeric simile. This is a point which will be illustrated later on in discussing the comparisons of Chateaubriand, but suffice it at present to say that Fénelon's manner of employing the simile is

different from that of Homer ; it is less vivid, less varied.

If it be asked what was the real inspiration of the « *Télémaque* », the answer is that it is to be found in the world of romance, the world of the Greek novelists, in Virgil and the elegiac poets of Rome. The elegiac note recurs very frequently, the death of a warrior compared to the fall of a flower, a comparison and a sentiment already to be found in Homer (the « *Iliad* », book 8, verse 306), but only rarely. Nestor lamenting his son Pisistratus reminds us of Priam at the end of the « *Iliad* » mourning for Hector and the elegiac note recurs not infrequently throughout the « *Odyssey* », but usually in the mouths of those to whom it is appropriate and on the appropriate occasion. In the « *Télémaque* » on the other hand, there is a continual burden of melancholy, it is the note which the poet loves to strike the most often. Fénelon, like Virgil, had made of what was occasional in Homer the very substance of his poem.

A further mark of unlikeness to Homer is the didacticism of the « *Télémaque* ». The germ of this is in Virgil, but Fénelon has carried it to far greater lengths. This is a quality wholly wanting, of course, in the « *Odyssey* », but not, however, in its later Greek imitators.

Racine and Fénelon are here adduced as examples of creative writers, who felt the influence of Homer ; it is beyond the purpose of the present study to discuss the varieties of critical opinion in matters classical in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If the reader be surprised at the omission of Boileau from our discussion, it may be said that he shows himself, in his « *Remarques sur Longin* » and elsewhere, a critic of catholic tests. An Alexandrian bias could hardly be expected from the author of the « *Dialogue sur les héros de Romans* ».

If critical opinion in general during this period is not our concern, a particular development of criticism in the eighteenth century should claim our attention, namely, the growing tendency to treat the Bible as a literary monument. Though the literary beauties of the Bible had always been apparent to men of judgment, no work of importance, wholly devoted to elucidating the literary beauties of Holy Writ, had been published before the

« *Praelectiones de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* » of Lowth, published in Latin in 1753 and in English in 1793. This work did not appear in French until 1813, after the completion of the works of Chateaubriand which are here to be studied. Hugh Blair, the most popular rhetorician of the latter half of the eighteenth century in England, devoted a chapter to the Bible as literature in his « *Rhetoric* », 1783. La Harpe, who occupied a similar position in France, failed, however, to treat the subject in his « *Cours de Littérature* ». This neglect is perhaps what was to be expected in a Catholic country, where the Bible would arouse less interest than among Protestants, the many instances of French works of imagination inspired by the Scriptures notwithstanding.

Once the Bible became the object of literary criticism a comparison of its merits with those of classical writers, including Homer, was inevitable. The faint beginnings of such comparison are to be found in Lowth and in Blackwell's « *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated* », 1725-27. In both writers preference is given to the Bible over Homer.

It is interesting to trace the development of the didactic tale, based on the model of the « *Télémaque* », during the following century. The chief masters, if they may be so called, of the « genre » are Marmontel and Florian, the former in « *Bélisaire* » and « *Les Incas* » and the latter in « *Numa Pompilius* » and « *Gonsalve de Cordoue* ». The chief characteristics of the type will be found well exemplified in the above-mentioned works ; if there is any accession of new qualities in the direction of the didactic tale as we find it in the hands of Chateaubriand, it is to be found in the element of romantic, that is to say, unhappy and disastrous love, Cora in « *Les Incas* » and Hersilie in « *Numa Pompilius* », a prototype, in a sense of Velléda. If this accretion brings us nearer to « *Les Martyrs* » it does not bring us any nearer to Homer. Love precipitates the Trojan War, but there is nothing romantic in Homer's treatment of that passion. In the « *Iliad* » Helen is weary of adultery, and so is Odysseus in the « *Odyssey* ». The only loves that Homer paints attractively and well are those of persons happily wedded,

Hector and Andromache, Odysseus and Penelope, or of a girl aspiring to a happy marriage, Nausicaa. These legitimate lovers may pass through experiences infinitely sad, but they are never unhappy by virtue of the conflict between the claims of love and those of society.

The didactic tale continued its development ; it reached a further stage in the hands of the Abbé Barthélemy, author of the « Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis », 1778. The Abbé Barthélemy was a careful student of antiquity, so that his work presents another quality wanting as yet to make a work of the nature of « Les Martyrs », the attempt to reproduce the atmosphere of ancient times. Since the days of the Comte de Caylus the study of archaeology had proceeded apace and in the « Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis » we discover the fruits of this new interest. But the fiction element in the « Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis » is very slight ; the hero voyages from place only that descriptions of places and manners and historical records may be given. Anacharsis, a Scythian, accomplishes his journey between 363 and 336 B. C., the year of Chaeronea. He gives an account of contemporary manners and events throughout the larger part of the Greek world, preceding the narrative with a résumé of Greek History prior to his time. The book is thus a sort of encyclopedia of things Greek, and with Rollin's « Histoire Ancienne » (1730-38) was probably the chief work of reference for the ordinary reader at the close of the eighteenth century.

If the fiction element in « Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » is slight, the poetical and dramatic interest of the work is considerable. Not infrequently the author resorts to dialogue and passages cast in various poetic moulds are often met with. It is this side of Barthélemy's book which is directly connected with the « Télémaque » tradition and must be considered among the possible influences that produced « Les Natchez » and « Les Martyrs ».

The direct line of descendants from the « Télémaque » is not very prolific, though never dying completely away. But if the direct descendants of that work are few, those indirectly allied to it are many. To mention no others the didactic fictions of Rousseau, the « Paul et Virginie »



of B. de Saint-Pierre, the « Joseph » of Bitaubé are to be traced to this source. And testimonials to the popularity of the work are not wanting. After the departure of Virginie for Europe we learn that Paul's favorite reading was in the novel and that he preferred the « Télémaque » to all others. The hero of Prévost's « Mémoires d'un homme de qualité », a prisoner among the Turks, translates the book into their tongue for them to read. (Page 198, vol. 1 « Œuvres choisies de Prévost » Paris. Leblanc, 1810). At the beginning of the nineteenth century we find Harriet Westbrook, Shelley's girl wife, reading the « Télémaque » to her husband on their honeymoon, and illustrations could be multiplied from many and diverse quarters. In these works there is little trace of the formal influence of Fénelon, little, if anything, to suggest that we are reading a prose epic. If this is the case, however, it is simply because the elegiac elements held in check by the author of the « Télémaque » have now broken completely away and each work is now in form and spirit what its predecessors were in spirit only, an elegy and a pastoral.

We have seen above that the didactic tale early took to itself the liberty of laying the scene in realms unknown to Homer. « Les Incas », 1778, transports us to the New World ; we witness the passions of Indian warriors for Indian maids or of Europeans for redskinned girls much as we do later in « Les Natchez ». Marmontel crossed the ocean in imagination before Chateaubriand, as of course Spanish poets and English novelists had done still earlier. But the civilized Aztecs and Incas resemble the heroes of Virgil too closely to constitute a real innovation ; the scene has changed, but not the nature of the characters described. The *roman à la Télémaque* has not yet developed into the epic of primitive man.

Before concluding this introduction we must consider those who, while dwelling with Fénelon and others in a pseudo-classic revery, did not interpret their visions in terms of fiction. There is only one such writer who demands our special attention, le père Lafitau, author of a work on « Les Mœurs des Sauvages indiens comparées aux mœurs des anciens temps », which appeared in 1724.

In this work the author attempts to draw a parallel between the customs of the Indians and those of the Greeks and Romans and hence to argue a common origin for both. While le père Lafitau may be described as afflicted with the classical mania, his mania is not that of M<sup>me</sup> Dacier. He sees in the expedition of the Argonauts some thing quite parallel to an expedition in birch bark canoes and the heroes who fought at Troy were, he thinks, hardly more than Indian chieftains. Lafitau, who was a Jesuit, had been only among the Iroquois and other northern tribes, but he extends his conclusions to the whole continent. The thesis is apart from the literary field, but to see in Indian chiefs such a resemblance to Agamemnon and his comrades is to suggest that both are susceptible of the same treatment in literature. The value of Lafitau for us, then, is that such an inference may be drawn from his works.

A poet attempting the epic of the primitive Indian and following the suggestions of le père Lafitau would fall into a snare ; he would be tempted to exaggerate the resemblance between his heroes and those of Homer—in other words his poem would follow too closely the Homeric model. A corrective to such a tendency was afforded in the works of another Jesuit, Charlevoix, « L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France » and « Le Voyage de France », 1744. Charlevoix was a realist who saw much to blame, though also something to praise in the Indians. He travelled for more widely than le père Lafitau and indulged in no generalities about savages he had never seen. It is interesting to conjecture what « Les Natchez », Chateaubriand's epic of primitive man, might have been had its author chosen to paint that tribe in all the squalor in which Charlevoix found it. In addition to personal observation of more northern tribes, Chateaubriand had in the works of Charlevoix all the information necessary to write a faithful and convincing narrative of Indian life.

We have seen how up to the end of the eighteenth century imitators and enthusiasts of Homer in France are numerous, but those who understood him are few. On the other hand, England has for a long time been possessed of a version of Homer by Chapman which, however defective

as a translation, is a work of power and spirit. And native epic poetry flourishes in the writings of Milton. Furthermore, Greek scholarship as a whole is more fruitful. The great names of France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are Du Cange, Mabillon and Montfaucon, but the efforts of those men were largely along the lines of lexicography and palaeography whereas in England the editing and interpretation of classical texts reached a climax in the works of Bentley and Porson. It would seem that close contact with English literature and English scholarship might serve as a correcting influence for one predisposed, as were the creative authors of France in this period, to viewing classical themes through an Alexandrian mist. Let us see, in our examination of the « Essai historique sur les révolutions », whether Chateaubriand's view of antiquity was in any way affected by his sojourn in England. For it is with this work that our study of the subject must begin. The biographical evidence referring to an earlier period is too slight to build upon, as when, in volume I of « Les Mémoires d'outre tombe » he tells : « J'avais heureusement alors la rage du grec ; je traduais l'*Odyssée* et la *Cyropédie* jusqu'à deux heures, en entremêlant mon travail d'études historiques », or when, at the siege of Thionville, he carried a Homer in his knapsack. Admiration of Homer was the fashion since Diderot's day, and to have a copy of the « Iliad » or the « Odyssey » in one's pocket did not always imply that one read him with discrimination.

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## II. — ESSAI SUR LES RÉVOLUTIONS

The work of Chateaubriand which now attracts our attention, the « *Essai sur les Révolutions* », appeared at London in 1797. This, the first published effort of the author, includes within its scope, as all his books succeed in doing, literary judgments which cannot but interest the student of comparative literature. Judgements on Greek, Hindou, German and French literature mark Chateaubriand as a cosmopolitan, and our only question is whether this cosmopolitanism is superficial or profound. It is perhaps too early, in a first work, to seek conclusive evidence on this point. Chateaubriand knew something of world literature, of that we may be sure, but the nature of the work is not such as to afford sufficient room for the display of his knowledge, provided he possessed it in greater abundance than the « *Essai sur les Révolutions* » shows. At any rate, we have in this book the proof that here is a man who is at least exposed to a variety of literary influences.

For ourselves, however, who are in search of proof that Chateaubriand's residence in England led to his adopting in literary matters the English point of view, it is disappointing not to find among the various discussions of foreign literatures in the « *Essai* », a discussion of English authors. For this we look in vain. A bare reference to a few philosophers, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke—that is all we find—and yet considerable space is given to England, in which nation Chateaubriand sees a kinship to Carthage. You might think the first-named country was almost as wanting in literary monuments as the second. Nevertheless, the author of the « *Essai* » find space to print in full what he calls « l'unique monument de littérature punique, 'The Voyage of Hanno' », whereas as a representative of English literature he chooses Captain Cook! (Book I, Part I, Chap. 35). Both of these citations deal with



voyages to unknown lands and are hence quite out of place in a essay dealing with revolutions : therefore Chateaubriand's silence regarding English literature elsewhere cannot be adduced as a token of his desire to stick to his subject. If his heart had been full of English literature he would certainly have found the occasion to speak of it. That his ignorance of English literature was not as great as his silence implies is shown, however, by « *Les Natchez* » and « *Les Martyrs* », where the influence of Milton is clearly evident. How much of the information embodied in 1826 in the « *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* » he possessed in 1797, the year of the appearance of the « *Essai sur les Révolutions* », it is hard to estimate, though if we accept the author's own statement the notes for that work were chiefly gathered then. In any case, there is nothing in the « *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* » to make us think he was familiar with Chapman, the translator of Homer, or many of the authors not commonly translated at that time into French.

If then Chateaubriand had a better understanding of Homer than most of his compatriots, he must have gained it in direct study of the original, and not through contact with the English. But before considering the evidence in favor of Chateaubriand's direct knowledge of Greek literature, attention must be called to a point which reveals his affinities with one of his important predecessors. Mention has already been made of the importance of Fénelon in the development of modern French literature. It is interesting to discover in the « *Essai* » the proof of this. In a chapter (chapter 26 of the second part) in which Plato, Fénelon and Rousseau are compared and contrasted, we find a résumé of the story of « *Le Télémaque* » which occupies several pages. The paragraph at the end of the summary should be quoted :

« Le défaut de cet immortel ouvrage vient de la hauteur de ses leçons qui ne sont pas calculées pour tous les hommes. On y trouve des longueurs, surtout dans les derniers livres. Mais ceux qui aiment la vertu et chérissent en même temps le beau antique ne doivent jamais s'endormir sans avoir lu le second livre de *Télémaque*. L'influence de ce livre de

Fénelon a été considérable ; il renferme tous les principes du jour : il respire la liberté, et la révolution même s'y trouve prédite. Que l'on considère l'âge où il a paru, et l'on verra qu'il est un des premiers écrits qui ont changé le cours des idées nationales en France. »

The author of the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey » is scarcely mentioned in the « Essai », though the references to Greek literature as a whole are rather numerous, and any reader of the work knows what a formidable array of classical authorities is to be found at the bottom of almost every page. If we used Chateaubriand's silence regarding English literature as an argument, we ought here to be logical and admit that on who could cite so many *loci classici* must be a great Greek and Latin scholar. For it is the notes, not the text of the « Essai », that impress us. The man who in chapter 19 of the First Part devotes two paragraphs to Homer and Hesiod and then another to Thales of Crete, a mythic poet scarcely known even to the student of Greek literature, can hardly be said to have a fair conception of literary values. And so with the mention of Hipponax and other minor authors, when the names of Aeschylus and Sophocles alone are given. « Qui n'a lu l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée* ? qui ne connaît les *Travaux* et les *Jours*, la *Théogonie*, le *Bouclier d'Hercule* ? Homère a donné Virgile à l'antique Italie, et le Tasse à la nouvelle, Le Camoens au Portugal, Ércille à l'Espagne, Milton à l'Angleterre, Voltaire à la France, Klopstock à l'Allemagne : il n'a pas besoin de mes éloges. » It would seem from the above that the chief merit of Homer lies in his posterity.

A note to the remarks on Homer demands our attention. Homer, Chateaubriand tells us, reserves for the Athenians alone the name of people, whereas he calls the Scythians the most just of men. For these statements he refers us to Book 4. The reference is incorrect. The Athenians are called « the people of Erechtheus » in line 547 of Book 2 and the Abii (supposed to be a Scythian tribe) receive the appellation here given in line 5 of Book 13. Chateaubriand's statement regarding the Athenians is true to the extent that they are the only Greek people in the Cata-

logue of the Ships in reference to whom term δῆμος is used ; the term is also applied however to a people arrayed on the Trojan side, δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ line 828, Book 2. The term moreover occurs elsewhere, as in lines 158-9, Book 6, in connection with the Argives. In all three passages, as in many others (see the Index Homericus of Gehring), the word means not people, but land, realm, It also signifies a crowd, or the people in general, but not a state, in Homer.

We have seen that one of Chateaubriand's references was inexact, and are tempted to inquire into the exactness of the other references to Homer in the « Essai sur les Révolutions ». But an inquiry of this sort raises a larger question—how exact are the numerous references to classical authors throughout the book, and, beyond that, how well did Chateaubriand know the authors to whom he refers, correctly or incorrectly ? In a sense the incorrect reference troubles us less than the possible exactness of the rest, for the incorrect reference may indicate the hazy remembrance of an author once read, but for Chateaubriand to refer so exactly to such a host of authors cannot help but create suspicion. Rather than test merely the accuracy of the references to Homer, an inquiry, the results of which after all, would not be very conclusive, let us see if we can determine the source of Chateaubriand's classical information in general.

It is of course clear that Chateaubriand could not have been acquainted with each and every one of the works cited, for to argue that he knew authors whom he could quote apropos would imply that he knew many more whose writings were of no use for his purpose. But such a wide knowledge of Greek literature is impossible, in view of the educational conditions of the day (students of Greek were then very few) and in view also of Chateaubriand's comparative youthfulness and the wandering life he had been leading. We are forced to conclude that he must have had some source of an encyclopedic nature which would furnish him with indications as to the subject he desired to treat. Bossuet's « Discours sur l'histoire universelle », Voltaire's « Essai sur les Mœurs », and the « Encyclopédie » at once occur to the mind as possible authorities. But a cursory examination of these works reveals

the fact that none of the three gives copious references and therefore none could have afforded him more than a part of his information. Without, however, carrying our investigation too far afield, is it not perhaps possible in Chateaubriand's own notes to find the clue we are seeking?

In a note to chapter 23 of the « Essai sur les Révolutions » we find a reference to the « Voyage d'Anacharsis », more correctly « le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » of the abbé Barthélemy, first published in 1788, and already mentioned in these pages as one of the connecting links in the development of the prose epic à la *Télémaque*. The reference is made apropos of the translation of the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton, transcribed from Note 4 at the end of the first volume of the « Voyage ». This reference is of value as showing that Chateaubriand was familiar with a work which was then very popular in France. But has it any further significance? The same chapter furnishes what may be another indication of connection between the two works. Chateaubriand quotes the couplets sung by Spartan warriors—youths, grown men, and aged veterans—at their festivals, and says, in a note, that he is using the translation of Amyot, at the same time indicating its ultimate source in the « *Lycurgus* » of Plutarch. On page 239 of volume 4 of the « Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » (edition of 1790) we find the same quotation and the same reference to Amyot and Plutarch.

But it is possible that Chateaubriand took his quotation directly from Amyot, whom it is probable that he knew. Let us therefore take another reference wholly at random. In chapter 3 and again in chapter 5, apropos of the good King Codrus, who was too good to have a successor, we find in the « Essai » references to two works of Meurs (Meursius, the Dutch scholar, 1579-1639). These works are the « *De Regibus Atheniensium* » and the « *De Archontide* ». In the « Voyage » we find identical references apropos of the same king, on pages 73 and 75 of Volume 1 of the edition cited above. In this identity of references also a coincidence? But let us conduct our investigation more systematically.

Returning to the first chapters of the « Essai » we find that it deals with a period and with countries not treated



in the « Voyage ». The source of the references in this chapter is then a separate problem, to be treated later. With Chapter 2, Chateaubriand begins to treat exclusively of Greece and the results of our search become more striking. For the sake of completeness and clarity these results are here indicated in tabular form. It may be said that they establish the complete identity of Chateaubriand's references and those of Barthélemy, with one or two exceptions, in the eight following chapters.

Voyage Book I Page		Essai Book I, Part I Chapter
21	Plut., in <i>Thes.</i>	3
40	Hom., <i>Iliad.</i>	
42	Id., <i>ibid.</i> , lib. IX.	
74	Herod., lib. I, cap. CXLV ; Strab., lib. XIII, p. 582. Paus., lib. VII, cap. II, p. 524.	
49	Paus., lib. II, cap. XIII ; Thucyd., lib. I, p. 2.	
14	Plut., in <i>Thes.</i> ; Diod., lib. IV, p. 266.	
14	Paus., cap. II, p. 7.	
13	Aelian., <i>Var. Hist.</i> , lib. III, cap. XXVIII ; Meurs., <i>De Regib. Athen.</i> , lib. III, cap. XI.	
130	Plut., in <i>Lyc.</i>	
50	Pausan., lib. II, cap. XIII et XVIII ; <i>Vell. Pater.</i> , lib. I, cap. II.	4
37	Diod., lib. IV ; Paus., lib. IX, cap. V.	
337	Aesch., e ( <i>sic</i> ), fals. Leg.	
?	<i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , Strab., p. 413.	
340	Diod., lib. XVI ; Plut. in <i>Themist.</i>	
92	Arist., <i>de Rep.</i> , t. II, lib. II, cap. XVII.	5
92	Plut., in <i>Solon</i> ; Meurs., <i>De Archont.</i> , lib. I, cap. I, etc.	
92	Herod., lib. I, cap. LIX ; Plut., in <i>Solon</i> ; <i>Id.</i>	
?	Herod., lib. I, p. 87.	
92	Thucyd., lib. I, cap. CXXVI ; Plut., in <i>Solon.</i>	
96	Plat., <i>de Leg.</i> , lib. I, t. II.	
97	Strab., lib. X, p. 479.	
99	Plut., in <i>Solon.</i>	
103	Plut., in <i>Solon.</i> , p. 87.	6
125 }	Plut., in <i>Solon.</i> , p. 90-91.	
114 }		
118	Pet., in <i>Leg. Attic.</i>	
124	Aesch., in <i>Tim.</i>	
126	Laert., in <i>Solon.</i>	
128	Plut., in <i>Solon.</i>	7
131	Herod., lib. I, cap. LIX ; Plut., in <i>Solon</i>	
?	Herod., lib. I, p. 88.	
108	Arist., <i>de Rep.</i> , lib. II, cap. XII, p. 336 ; <i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	8
92	Plut., in <i>Solon.</i>	
130	Herod., lib. I, cap. LIX.	

Voyage Book I Page	Essai Book I' Part I Chapter
130 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> .	
130 <i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	
130 Athen., lib. XII, cap. VIII.	
130 Cicer., <i>De Orat.</i> , lib. III, cap. XXXIV.	
130 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> .	
131 Herod., lib. I, cap. LIX.	
130 <i>Id.</i> , lib. V, cap. LXV.	
133 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> ; <i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	
133 Herod., lib. VI, cap. CXXV-CXXXI ; Plut., in <i>Solon</i> , Pap. publ., etc.	
132 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> , p. 96.	
133 Herod., lib. I, cap. LXIV.	
134 <i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	
134 <i>Id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	
129 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> ; Herod., lib. I, cap. LIX et LXIV.	9
132 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> .	
131 Justin., lib. II, cap. VIII.	
132 Plut., in <i>Solon</i> .	
133 Herod., lib. I, cap. LXIV ; Arist., lib. V, <i>De Rep.</i> , cap. XII.	10
132 Herod., <i>ibid.</i> ; Arist., <i>ibid.</i>	
139 Herod., lib. V, cap. LXII-XCVI.	

A table of parallel references is not sufficient, however, to show the full extent of Chateaubriand's indebtedness to Barthélemy. If we take Chateaubriand's references for what they are, references to given pages in the text of the « Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » we find that in certain cases Chateaubriand has done more than derive information from his authority, he has sometimes paraphrased his very words. These cases, it must be said, are rare. In most instances Chateaubriand has condensed what in Barthélemy is expressed with more amplitude. In chapter six, for exemple, we find a slight similarity in the expressions of the two authors, though Chateaubriand is merely snatching phrases from a fuller discussion in Barthélemy. Thus in Chateaubriand we read, « (Solon) remit les dettes, et refusa le partage des terres ». In Barthélemy we find (vol. I, page 103) : Solon abolit les dettes des particuliers, annula tous les actes qui engageoient la liberté du citoyen, et refusa la repartition des terres. » In the same chapter (six) of the « Essai » we read :

« Qu'il soit chassé des tribunaux, de l'assemblée géné-

rale, du sacerdoce, disait la loi à Athènes, qu'il soit rigoureusement puni celui qui, noté d'infamie par la dépravation de ses mœurs, ose remplir les fonctions saintes de législateur ou de juge ; que le magistrat qui se montre en état d'ivresse aux yeux du peuple soit à l'instant mis à mort ! »

This corresponds to the « Voyage », page 124, vol. 1. « D'un autre côté, le citoyen devenu fameux par la dépravation de ses mœurs de quelque état qu'il soit, quelque talent qu'il possède, sera exclu des sacerdoces, des magistratures, du sénat, de l'assemblée générale ; il ne pourra ni parler en public ni se charger d'une ambassade, ni siéger dans les tribunaux de justice ; et s'il exerce quelque'une de ces fonctions, il sera poursuivi criminellement, et subira les peines rigoureuses prescrites par la loi. » The same passage in the « Essai » also echoes page 126 of the « Voyage »: « De là cette loi terrible par laquelle on condamne à la mort l'Archonte qui, après avoir perdu sa raison dans les plaisirs de la table, ose paraître en public avec des marques de sa dignité. » We see by this illustration to what extent Chateaubriand has condensed Barthélemy.

In chapter eleven Chateaubriand recounts the episode of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Let us compare this with the version in Barthélemy, page 137 of Book 1.

Chateaubriand (Chapter 11, Book 1, Part 1). « Hipparque insulté par Harmodius, jeune Athénien plein de courage, voulut s'en venger par un affront public qu'il fit souffrir à la sœur de ce dernier. Harmodius, la rage dans le cœur, résolut, avec Aristogiton, son ami, d'arracher le jour aux tyrans de sa patrie. Il ne s'en ouvrit qu'à quelques personnes fidèles, comptant, au moment de l'entreprise, sur les principes des uns, les passions des autres, ou du moins sur ce plaisir secret qu'éprouvent les hommes à voir souffrir ceux qu'ils ont crus heureux. Par l'amour de l'humanité, il faut se donner garde de remarquer que le vice et la vertu conduisent souvent aux mêmes résultats.

« Le jour de l'exécution étant fixé à la fête des Panathénées, les assassins se rendirent au lieu désigné. Hipparque tombe sous leurs coups, mais son frère leur échappe. Heureux cependant s'il eût partagé la même destinée ! Aristogiton, présenté à la torture, accusa faussement les

plus chers amis d'Hippias, qui les livra sur le champ aux bourreaux. L'amitié offrit ce sacrifice, aussi ingénieux que terrible, aux mânes d'Harmodius massacré par les gardes du tyran. »

Barthélemy (Volume I, page 137) : « Deux jeunes Athéniens, Harmodius et Aristogiton, liés entre eux de l'amitié la plus tendre, ayant essuyé de la part de ce prince un affront qu'il était impossible d'oublier, conjurèrent sa perte, et celle de son frère. Quelques-uns de leurs amis entrèrent dans ce complot, et l'exécution en fut remise à la solennité des Panathénées ; ils espéraient que cette foule d'Athéniens, qui, pendant les cérémonies de cette fête, avoit la permission de porter les armes, seconderait leurs efforts, ou du moins les garantirait de la fureur des gardes qui entouraient les fils de Pisistrate.

« Dans cette vue, après avoir couvert leurs poignards de branches de myrte, ils se rendent aux lieux où les princes mettaient en ordre une procession, qu'ils devaient conduire au temple de Minerve. Ils arrivent ; ils voient un des conjurés s'entretenir familièrement avec Hippias ; ils se croient trahis ; et, résolus de vendre chèrement leur vie, ils s'écartent un moment, trouvent Hipparque, et lui plongent le poignard dans le cœur. Harmodius tombe aussitôt sous les coups redoublés des sateélites du prince. Aristogiton, arrêté presque au même instant, fut présenté à la question ; mais, loin de nommer ses complices, il accusa les plus fidèles partisans d'Hippias, qui, sur le champ, les fit traîner au supplice. »

We find that these two versions of the same events correspond in most particulars, though they differ almost entirely in phraseology. One important particular, however, mentioned by Chateaubriand, the affront to the sister of Harmodius, is wanting in Barthélemy. This is sufficient to indicate that Chateaubriand could not have relied on Barthélemy alone, but was familiar with some other summary of Greek history. What this other authority was will be suggested presently.

It would not appear from the passages quoted that Barthélemy affected to any appreciable extent the style of Chateaubriand. It was impossible that he should when

Chateaubriand was always in so much of a hurry to say what Barthélemy related in a leisurely manner. For this reason it seems of little use to compare corresponding passages in the two authors. Chateaubriand has taken the fact, not the phrase. For a final illustration of Chateaubriand's method of employing his authority the reader is advised to compare the account of Dion, Dionysius and the Sicilian troubles in Chapters 9-12 of the « Essai », Part 2, Book 2, with the account of the same events in volumes 3 and 5 of the « Voyage ». A narrative covering some eighty pages in the « Voyage » occupies barely twelve in the « Essai ». The end of Chateaubriand's version follows Barthélemy's closely.

It seems unnecessary for our present purpose to continue a detailed examination of the references to Greek authors in the « Essai sur les Révolutions ». The provenience of all Chateaubriand's references need not concern us once his general procedure has been shown. Does the fact that so many of the references come from Barthélemy show that the « Voyage » was Chateaubriand's sole authority? We have already seen that a certain detail in the account of Harmodius and Aristogiton in the « Essai » was wanting in the « Voyage ». As it was inevitable that Chateaubriand should be familiar with Rollin's « Histoire Ancienne », the main authority on Ancient History in his day, and as we find the missing detail there, it seems safe to conclude that the young author used the two leading works that dealt with his subject. But there are occasions when he could have used neither, and these must now occupy our attention.

The first occasion on which, treating of a purely Greek subject, Chateaubriand seems to have sought information outside of the « Voyage » or the « Histoire Ancienne » is when in chapters 22 and 23 (Part 1, Book 1), he gives translations or paraphrases of Greek nomic or lyric poets, Tyrtaeus, Anacreon, Solon, and in Chapter 41 (same part), Pythagoras. Versions of these poets' writings, such as are to be found in the chapters mentioned, are wanting in Barthélemy's book, as in Rollin's. But in quoting them Chateaubriand refers to the collection of *Poetae Minores Graecae*, which is mentioned by Barthélemy



among his authorities in the bibliography at the end of his last volume. It is possible, then, that Chateaubriand looked up the authors named from references in Barthélemy's notes, or, of course, he may have heard of the collection from another source. We have then the possibility that he worked out himself a translation from the Greek, aided perhaps by Fontanes, who, as we learn from Villemain, was with him in London in the period preceding the composition of the « Essai ». Or there is the other possibility that Chateaubriand paraphrased the French translations of Greek lyric poets then current. But if so, why did he not quote them directly, as when quoting the version of the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton already given? The distinction of making a new, and that a prose, version of ancient poets was not a very great prize to strive for. And, besides, in making his translation of Solon, for instance, he seems to believe that he is introducing for the first time to the public a poet known only to a few scholars. It seems probable then that Chateaubriand thought he was translating the selections he gives for the first time into French. But was the tongue from which he translated necessarily Greek? Might he not have used English versions, for instance the poetical version of the Golden Verses of Pythagoras made by the dramatist Rowe and reprinted in 1795 in Robert Anderson's *Works of the British Poets*, Volume 7? A comparison with Rowe's version, in heroic couplets, fails to show any great similarity. But Chateaubriand's translation does bear a very striking resemblance to the Golden Verses as quoted in the commentaries of Hierocles, translated from Dacier's French version into English by Nichols in 1707. Is not this a plausible source? If this is so, we learn when Chateaubriand first became acquainted with the Dark Angel of « Les Martyrs », Hierocles, the persecutor of the Christians, whom we learn from the preface to « Les Martyrs », where Chateaubriand also alludes to Dacier, he identified with the author of the Commentary. In a note to Chapter 41, page 389, he regrets he had not availed himself of translations in « Les soirées Littéraires » (1795-1796) and adds « elles n'eussent sauvé la fatigue de traduire moi-même. Ceci n'est qu'un des petits inconvénients où

l'on tombe à écrire loin des capitales et dans un pays étranger. » Would a man who read Greek readily have made this comment ? Is the fatigue of translating the few specimens Chateaubriand affords us, after all, so very great ?

Another occasion when Chateaubriand departs from the « Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » is in his translation of the « Voyage » of Hanno the Carthaginian. It is possible that he heard of this tiny account in some collection of early voyages and that he may have found the text. A translation existed by Bougainville (1), but this differs widely from Chateaubriand's. Again, in going to such pains to give the complete text does he not seem to labor under the delusion that he is presenting something new to his readers ? It so happens that an English translation of the « Voyage of Hanno » by Thomas Falconer, appeared in London the same year as the « Essai », 1797. It is at least possible that Chateaubriand made use of this translation and incorporated his version into the « Essai » as a supposed novelty for French readers.

Again, departing from the abbé Barthélemy, Chateaubriand devotes several pages to Sanchoniathos's « Phœnician History ». Chapter 13 of the Introduction, the « Essai sur les Mœurs » is devoted to Sanchoniathos and it is possible that Chateaubriand first heard of the Phœnician writer in Voltaire's pages. It seems significant, however, that the only edition of the author referred to under his name in the *Encyclopédie* (edition of 1774) is the English version by Bishop Cumberland, printed in London in 1720. Thomas Blackwell's « Letters Concerning Mythology » (1748) also contain a version. Here, as in the preceding cases, it seems possible that Chateaubriand received some impulse, however slight, from his reading of English authors.

The importance of our identification of Chateaubriand's main authorities in Greek history is four-fold. In the first place it shows that Chateaubriand at this period had very little firsthand knowledge of Greek authors in general,

(1) To be found in *Mémoires de Littérature*, tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1759-26, pp. 39-45.

and of Homer in particular. We are relieved from studying his conception of antiquity as it is merely an echo of opinions to be found in Barthélemy, Rollin and Mably. (Chateaubriand's view of the Amphictyonic Council seems to come from the latter's « Observations sur l'histoire grecque ».) In the second place, the relation between the works of Chateaubriand and *le roman à la Télémaque*, in the development of which we have seen the « Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » is one of the connecting links, is more clearly established. We are, in the third place, justified in looking for a possible influence of the « Voyage » and the « Histoire Ancienne » on later works of Chateaubriand. Finally it becomes evident that during his sojourn in England Chateaubriand, far from being wholly absorbed in English or classical authors, was still fingering the works of his own countrymen ; in other words, he did little to change his French point of view.

After this revelation of the hollowness of Chateaubriand's claim to scholarship, we may now proceed to the study of « Les Natchez », the next in order of composition of Chateaubriand's works, quite wanting as yet in any positive evidence that he knew Homer, or, with the exception of one or two authors, Greek literature in general at first hand.

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### III. — LES NATCHEZ

Homeric Influences in « Les Natchez ». — The Homeric Style defined and contrasted with that of Chateaubriand.

With « Les Natchez » we come to a work in which the Greek influence to be traced is almost wholly Homeric. In the opening chapter we reviewed briefly the history of the prose epic in France, signalizing the names of Fénelon, Marmontel and Bitaubé. Is our task now merely to show the relationship of Chateaubriand to these imitators of Homer, assuming that they, and not the author of the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey », were his real inspiration ? We were unable in our study of the « Essai sur les Révolutions » to establish any very direct contact between its author and writers of antiquity and it is therefore not improbable that we should find little more in the work that now engages our attention. Why not then devote the present chapter to a comparative study of Fénelon, Marmontel, Bitaubé and Chateaubriand ? For the reason that Chateaubriand, in later works, becomes more than an imitator of Homer ; in « Le Génie du Christianisme » he becomes his critic. And in « Le Génie du Christianisme » and also in « Les Martyrs » the evidence of a certain direct contact with Homer is too great. It is essential somewhere in our study therefore that we should establish very clearly just what the Homeric style is, in order to contrast with it both Chateaubriand's practice and his theory, and the best place to do this seems at the beginning of our study of the first work of our author in which the Homeric influence is predominant. The reader's patience is therefore asked if he is now transported from the eighteenth century and ideas of Greece then current to the very beginning of Greek literature. We have said

that the French view of Homer and the Homeric style was distorted : let us see to what extent certain of Homer's imitators differed from their master.

## HOMERIC IMITATION IN « LES NATCHEZ »

### I. *Characters*

We have seen that the authors of the prose epics seem always to approach Homer through Virgil. This is equivalent to saying that whenever a Homeric motive is introduced into their works it is always with a particular twist which it would not have had had not that medium existed or had not their own temperaments served the same purpose. How a motive in the Homeric poems is expanded and often denatured by Virgil may be shown by a comparison of the scenes in the « Iliad » recounting the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus and those in the « Aeneid » recounting that of Nisus and Euryalus. This distinction is important to determine, as a similar friendship is to be found in « Les Natchez », that of Outougamiz and René. To which of these two narratives do the passages in « Les Natchez » bear the greater resemblance ?

The first mention of Patroklos in the « Iliad » is very brief. In line 307 of Book one we are told that Achilles, after his dispute with Agamemon, went to his tent accompanied by the son of Menoitius and his companions. We next come upon him in Book nine, line 185, on the arrival at Achilles' tent of the embassy sent to beg him to reenter the fray.

The following version is from the Lang, Leaf and Myers' translation (Macmillan, 1915).

« So they came to the huts and ships of the Myrmidons, and found their king taking his pleasure of a loud lyre, fair, of curious work, with a silver cross-bar upon it ; one that he had taken from the spoils when he laid Eëtions' city waste. Therein he was delighting his soul, and singing the glories of heroes. And over against him sate Patroklos alone in silence, watching still Aiakides should cease from singing. So the twain came forward and noble Odysseus

led the way, and they stood before his face; and Achilles sprang up amazed with the lyre in his hand, and left the seat where he was sitting, and in like manner Patroklos when he beheld the men arose. Then Achilles fleet of foot greeted them and said : « Welcome ; verily ye are friends that are come—sore indeed is the need—even ye that are dearest of the Achaians to me even in my wrath. »

So spake noble Achilles, and led them forward, and made them sit on settles and carpets of purple ; and anon he spake to Patroklos being near : « Bring forth a greater bowl, thou son of Menoitius ; mingle stronger drink, and prepare each man a cup, for dearest of men are these that are under my roof. »

So spake he and Patroklos hearkened to his dear comrade. He cast down a great fleshing-block in the firelight, and laid thereon a sheep's back and a fat goat's, and a great hog's chine rich with fat. And Automedon held them for him, while Achilles carved. Then he sliced well the meat and pierced it through with spits, and Menoitios' son, that godlike hero, made the fire burn high. Then when the fire was burned down, and the flame waned, he scattered the embers and laid the spits thereover, resting them on the spit-racks, when he had sprinkled them with holy salt. Then when he had roasted the meat and apportioned it on the platters, Patroklos took bread and dealt it forth on the table in fair baskets, and Achilles dealt the meat. And he sate him over against godlike Odysseus by the other wall, and bade his comrade Patroklos do sacrifice to the gods ; so he cast the first-fruits into the fire ».

This passage is sufficient to establish the relation between Achilles and Patroklos. The two are friends, but the latter seems to be in a subordinate position to the former and there is certainly no effusiveness between them. That the tone prevailing in this passage marks all the scenes in which the two figure, alive, together, would be shown by a comparison with lines 602-617, Book II, where Patroklos at Achilles' bidding goes to see whom Nestor is bringing wounded from the conflict and with the beginning of Book 16 where Patroklos without much difficulty persuades Achilles to let him take his place at the head of the Myrmidons in battle. As it is here if



anywhere that we would look for expressions of solicitude and affection the passage is worth quoting, at least in part. The following lines contain Achilles' instructions to Patroklos (Book 16, lines 80-100) :

« But even so, Patroklos, to ward off destruction from the ships, do thou fall on mightily, lest they burn the ships with blazing fire, and take away our desired return. But so thou obey, even as I shall put into thy mind the end of my commandment, that in my sight thou mayst win great honor and fame of all the Danaans, and they may give me back again the fairest maiden and thereto add splendid gifts. When thou hast driven them from the ships, return, and even if the loud-thundering lord of Hera grant thee to win glory, yet long thou not apart from me to fight with the war-loving Trojans ; thereby wilt thou minish mine honor. Neither do thou, exalting in war and strife, and slaying the Trojans, lead on toward Ilios, lest one of the eternal gods from Olympus come against thee ; right dearly doth Apollo the far-darter love them. Nay, return back when thou hast brought safety to the ships, and suffer the rest to fight along the plain. For would, O father Zeus, and Athene and Apollo, would that not one of all the Trojans might escape death, nor one of the Argives, but that we twain might avoid destruction, that alone we might undo the sacred coronal of Troy ».

Achilles' counsel to his friend is characteristically Greek : avoid excess. And in counseling the virtue of moderation he is careful to observe it himself : his concern for his friend can hardly be called exaggerated. It must be admitted however that this moderation concerns expression rather than sentiment ; the real depth of Achilles' friendship appears in the moment of his loss. Then his grief is unbounded and his sorrow finds full expression. Greek restraint is not stoicism and a hero who does not give free rein to his sorrow and regret is not Greek. The following passage portrays Achilles at the moment of learning from Antilochos that Patroclus is dead. (Book 18, lines 18-27).

« Ay me, wise Peleus' son, very bitter tidings must thou hear, such as I would had never been. Fallen is Patroklos,

and they are fighting around his body, naked, for his armor is held by Hector of the glancing helm. »

Thus spake he and a black cloud of grief enwrapped Achilles and with both hands he took dark dust and poured it over his head and defiled his comely face, and on his fragrant doublet black ashes fell. And himself in the dust lay mighty and mightily fallen, and with his own hands tore and marred his hair.

We learn then from the passages quoted above that Achilles' friendship for Patroklos is deep and sincere. But it reveals itself on one occasion only, in the hour of mourning. We learn a great deal about Achilles before we so much as suspect that he has a friend. We know him to be turbulent and proud and strong and brave long before we know that he can cherish affection. There are seemingly only a few persons in the world whom Achilles loves, his mother, and Patroklos his father Peleus and his son Neoptolemus. We are not led to think that Achilles' interest in Briseis amounted to a passion and we hear but little of his domestic life before the Trojan war. Achilles is a man of many passions, one of which, by no means the predominating one, is affection for his friend.

How different are the comrades of the « Aeneid », Nisus and Euryalus ! The very first thing we learn of them is their capacity for affection « Aeneid, » Book 5, lines 293-296 :

Undique conveniunt Teucri, mixtique Sicani ;  
Nisus et Euryalus primi :  
Euryalus, forma insignis viridique juvena ;  
Nisus amore pio pueri :.....

And on their second appearance in the poem (Book 9, lines 182-3).

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant :  
Tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.

Nisus and Euryalus are not wanting in courage and address, we learn, as we read on, but with their every action is mingled the motive of love. The one will not allow the other to face danger alone and Nisus dies trying

to rescue his friend. It is thus that Nisus expresses his concern in lines 207 of Book a 218 :

Nisus ad haec : Equidem de te nil tale verebar,  
 Nec fas ; non : ita me referat tibi magnus ovantem  
 Jupiter, aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis.  
 Sed, si quis, quae multa vides discrimine tali,  
 Si quis in adversum rapiat casusve, deusve,  
 Te superesse velim ; tua vita dignior actas.  
 Sit qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemtum,  
 Mandet humo ; solita aut, si qua id Fortuna vetabit,  
 Absenti ferat inferias, decoretque sepulcro.  
 Neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris ;  
 Quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa,  
 Persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae.

(The translation following is from the version of J. W. Mackail, « The Aeneid of Virgil », Macmillan, 1920).

To this Nisus : « Assuredly I had no such fear of thee ; I could not, no ; so may great Jupiter, or whoso looks on earth with equal eyes, restore me to thee triumphant. But if haply — as thou seeest often and often in so forlorn a hope — if haply chance or deity sweep me to adverse doom, I would have thee survive ; thine age is worthier to live. Be there one to commit me to earth, rescued, or ransomed from the battlefield ; or if Fortune in her wonted way deny that, to pay me far away the rites of funeral and the grace of a tomb. Neither would I bring such pain on thy poor mother, she who singly of many matrons has dared to follow her boy to the end, and recks not of great Acestes' city. »

Homer shows us a many sided man, capable of all the passions, Virgil shows us two men wholly absorbed by one. We cannot imagine them engaged in any action in which the two did not wholly share. Nisus could never find a reason for abstaining from the conflict to which he exposed his friend. Achilles' affection for his friend is held in check by his hatred for his personal enemies.

The purpose of drawing the above parallel has been to distinguish carefully two types of character drawing, that which represents {a man as running through the whole gamut of human feeling and that which represents him as

tied and bound within the limits of a single passion. The first is the Homeric method of portraying character, the second is the Virgilian. We have now to determine to which of these types the Outougamiz of Chateaubriand, the devoted friend of René, in « Les Natchez » belongs. To determine this will give us a clue as to the affinities of Chateaubriand's characterisation in general.

We find the following picture of Outougamiz near the beginning of the third book of « Les Natchez » :

Non loin de Céluta, Outougamiz était assis sur des herbes parfumées, sculptant une pagaye. On retrouvait le frère dans la sœur, avec cette différence qu'il y avait dans les traits du premier plus de naïveté, dans les traits de la seconde plus d'innocence. Égale candeur, égale simplicité, sortoit de leurs cœurs par leurs bouches : tels, sur un même tronc, dans une vallée du Nouveau-Monde, croissent deux érables de sexe différent ; et cependant le chasseur qui les voit du haut de la colline les reconnaît pour frère et sœur à leur air de famille et au langage que leur fait parler la brise du désert.

Le frère d'Amélie était le chasseur qui contemplait le couple solitaire, et, bien qu'il ne comprît pas ses paroles, il les écoutait pourtant, car les deux orphelins échangeaient alors de doux propos.

Génie des forêts à la voix naïve, génie accoutumé à ces entretiens ignorés de l'Europe, qui font à la fois pleurer et sourire, refuseriez-vous de murmurer ceux-ci à mon oreille ?

« Je ne veux plus voir dormir les jeunes hommes, disait la jeune fille des Natchez. Mon frère, quand tu dors sur ta natte, ton sommeil est un baume rafraîchissant pour moi : est-ce que les hommes blancs n'ont pas le même repos ? »

Outougamiz répondit : « Ma sœur, demandez cela aux vieillards. »

Céluta repartit : « Il m'a semblé voir le Manitou de la beauté qui ouvrait et fermait tour à tour les lèvres du guerrier blanc, pendant son sommeil, chez Chactas. »

« Un esprit, dit Outougamiz, m'est apparu dans mes songes. Je n'ai pu voir son visage, car sa tête était voilée. Cet esprit m'a dit : Le grand jeune homme blanc porte la moitié de ton cœur. »

Ainsi parlaient les deux innocentes créatures ; leur tendresse fraternelle enchantait et attristait à la fois le frère d'Amélie.

The youthful Indian whose likeness to his sister both in feature and character was so pronounced has surely no affinity to Achilles. As with Nisus the first distinctive trait revealed in Outougamiz is affection. To what extravagance of expression this affection can give way is shown by the reproaches of Outougamiz, when René wounded and exhausted, in his flight from the Illinois urges his friend to abandon him (Book 12).

« Que me conseilles-tu ? De t'abandonner ! Et depuis quand t'ai-je prouvé que j'étais plus que toi attaché à la vie ? Depuis quand m'as-tu vu me troubler au nom de la mort ? Ai-je tremblé quand, au milieu des Illinois, j'ai brisé les liens qui te retenaient ? Mon cœur palpitait-il de crainte quand je te portais sur mes épaules avec des angoisses que je n'aurais point échangées contre toutes les joies du monde ? Oui, il palpitait ce cœur, mais ce n'était pas pour moi ! Et tu oses dire que tu n'as point d'ami ! Moi, t'abandonner ! Moi, trahir l'amitié ! Moi, former d'autres liens après ta mort ! Moi, heureux sans toi avec une épouse et des enfants ! Apprends-moi donc ce qu'il faut que je raconte à Céluta en arrivant aux Natchez ! Lui dirai-je : « J'avais délivré celui pour lequel je t'appelai en témoignage de l'amitié ; le feu a pris à des joncs ; j'ai eu peur, j'ai fui. J'ai vu de loin les flammes qui ont consumé mon ami ? » Tu sais mourir, prétends-tu, René ; moi, je sais plus, je sais vivre. Si j'étais dans ta place et toi dans la mienne, je ne t'aurais pas dit : « Fuis et laisse-moi. » Je t'aurais dit : « Sauve-moi, ou mourons ensemble. »

It will be seen from the above passage that Chateaubriand out-Virgils Virgil. Where Virgil makes a romantic friendship the theme of two episodes in the course of his entire poem, the friendship of Outougamiz for René is the very warp and substance of the narrative of Chateaubriand. The end of Outougamiz is in accord with his life :

Outougamiz expira cinq lunes après avoir quitté la terre de la patrie. On sut alors qu'il avait continué à s'ouvrir les veines toutes les nuits pour rafraîchir l'urne du sang ; son sang s'épuisa avant son amitié. Il montra une joie excessive de mourir, et laissa en héritage (c'était tout son bien) l'urne du sang et le Manitou d'or à la fille de René (page, 508, Garnier).

Like Nisus and Euryalus, Outougamiz shows himself a doughty warrior. But even in the excitement of battle the memory of his friend is sufficient to restrain him from pursuing further his success. « Il se voulait jeter parmi les Français, mais le génie de l'amitié lui fait au fond du cœur cette réprimande : Où cours-tu, insensé ? de quel fruit ta mort peut-elle être maintenant à ta patrie ? Réserve ce sacrifice pour une occasion plus favorable, et souviens-toi que tu as un ami. » Quite different was the attitude of Patroklos (*Iliad*, 16, line 684) :

« But Patroklos cried to his horses and Automedon, and after the Trojans and Lykians went he, and so was blindly forgetful, in his witlessness, for if he had kept the saying of the son of Peleus, verily he should have escaped the evil fate of black death. But ever is the wit of Zeus stronger than the wit of men—so now rouseth he the spirit of Patroklos in his breast. »

It would be hard too to parallel in Homer the words of Outougamiz above the form of Bois-Robert to whom he has dealt his death blow. There are several passages in the « *Iliad* » where the poet is moved to tenderness at the sight of youth lying in the arms of death but none where a warrior himself expresses his compassion :

« Pauvre nonpareille, lui dit-il, qui te revêtais à peine d'un léger duvet, te voilà tombée de ton nid ! Tu ne chanteras plus sur la branche ! Puisse ta mère, si tu as une mère, pardonner à Outougamiz ! Les douleurs d'une mère sont bien grandes. Hélas ! tu étais à peu près de mon âge ! Et moi aussi, il me faudra mourir, mais les esprits sont témoins que je n'avais aucune haine contre toi ; je n'ai fait ce mal qu'en défendant la tombe de ma mère. Ainsi vous parliez, naïf et tendre sauvage ; les larmes roulaient dans vos yeux. Bois-Robert entendit

votre simple éloge funèbre, et il sourit en exhalant son dernier soupir. »

If Outougamiz is a Virgilian rather than a Homeric character the same may not be said of the other young savage of « Les Natchez », Ondouré. Ondouré is neither Virgilian nor Homeric, he is the fiend in flesh and is a part of that dual world we find in epics like the « Jerusalem Delivered » and « Paradise Lost ». He is of the same family as Hiéroclès and Galérius in « Les Martyrs », he is too darkly and exclusively evil to be either Homeric or human. In this connection it may be said that the dualism of « Les Natchez » is very paradoxical : we come in the opening paragraphs of « Les Natchez » to a veritable Indian Paradise yet before very long we find that it is Satan who has this paradise under his protection. When in Book 10 the Natchez fight for their liberties against the French their sole spiritual abettors are the legions of hell. These are the inconsistencies that striving to depict the ideal state of nature and to be a devout Catholic at the same time lead one to.

Céluta, in the epic portion of the work at least, is as unHomeric as her brother : her role is purely passive. Here is her portrait shortly after the beginning of Book 1 :

« Une jeune fille parut à l'entrée de la cabane. Sa taille haute, fine et déliée, tenait à la fois de l'élégance du palmier et de la faiblesse du roseau. Quelque chose de souffrant et de rêveur se mêlait à ses grâces presque divines. Les Indiens, pour peindre la tristesse et la beauté de Céluta disaient qu'elle avait le regard de la Nuit et le sourire de l'Aurore. Ce n'étoit point encore une femme malheureuse, mais une femme destinée à le devenir. On aurait été tenté de presser cette adorable créature dans ses bras, si l'on n'eût craint de sentir palpiter un cœur dévoué d'avance aux chagrins de la vie. »

One is tempted to see in Céluta a parallel to Andromache, until he remembers that in the epic portion of « Les Natchez » she is still a maid. The maid drawn into a love unhappy not by the developement of circumstances alone but by the very character of the object of her passion, the passionless René, has after all very little



resemblance to the wife whose husband requites her love and whom only his peril saddens. After Céluta's marriage the resemblance becomes stronger but we are concerned with the sister of Outougamiz only in so far as she is an epic heroine. The only maid, other than a goddess, celebrated by Homer is Nausicaa. Let us contrast her attitude in Book 6, lines 99-109, with that of Céluta :

« Then when they had had their joy of food, she and her handmaids, they threw off their head-gear and fell to playing at ball, and white-armed Nausicaa was leader in the song. And even as Artemis, the archer, roves over the mountains, along the ridges of lofty Taygetus or Erymanthus, joying in the pursuit of boars and swift deer, and with her sport the wood-nymphs, the daughters of Zeus who bears the aegis, and Leto is glad at heart-high above them all Artemis holds her head and brows, and easily may she be known, though all are fair-so amid her handmaidens shown the maid unwed. »

Joy is the keynote of Nausicaa's character as sorrow is that of Céluta's. We need not push the comparison further. As Outougamiz comes from Nisus so Céluta comes from Dido, with this difference that Céluta has none of the latter's queenliness and pride. We may be sure that Dido's attitude toward the indifferent René would have been less tolerant, she would have found some means to stir his impassivity. Céluta is of the type that confirms egoists in their complacency.

As has been said already stoicism and impassiveness are not Greek qualities, or, in any case, not Homeric. We have seen this in the case of Achilles mourning for Patroclus. What a hero's attitude may be in the face of his own danger will be seen by the following quotation from Book 5 of the « *Odyssey* », where Odysseus laments as the storm bursts upon him : (lines 297-312) :

« Then were the knees of Odysseus loosened and his heart melted, and deeply moved he spoke to his own mighty spirit :

Ah me, wretched that I am ! What is to befall me at

the last ? I fear me that verily all that the goddess said was true, when she declared that on the sea, before ever I came to my native land, I should fill up the measure of woes ; and lo, all this now is being brought to pass. In such wise does Zeus overcast the broad heaven with clouds, and has stirred up the sea, and the blasts of all manner of winds sweep upon me ; now is my utter destruction sure. Thrice blessed those Danaans, aye, four times blessed, who of old perished in the wide land of Troy, doing the pleasure of the sons of Atreus. Even so would that I had died and met my fate on that day when the throngs of the Trojans hurled upon me bronze-tipped spears, fighting around the body of the dead son of Peleus. Then should I have got funeral rites, and the Achaeans would have spread my fame, but now by a miserable death was it appointed for me to be cut off. '

Superficially there might seem to be a parallel between René and Achilles. Both sit apart while things of moment are being consummated around them. But the motives for their aloofness are unlike. Achilles has withdrawn from the activities around him in order that he may be missed and that men may entreat him to return, René has withdrawn merely for want of interest in any action whatsoever. We have remarked already that Achilles seems indifferent to woman's love in the higher sense of that term but he is far from indifferent when Briseis is wrested from him. The possessive instinct at least is not dead. It is hard to imagine René acting with any fervor on a like occasion, unless at the entreaty of the woman herself, for he was still generous. More than any of Homer's heroes Achilles is, by virtue of his egoism and wilfulness and isolation and by a certain pathos in his relations to his goddess mother, the prototype of the *romantique* of Chateaubriand's day. The difference is that he is a man of action too and that far from being a desert waste of the emotions he burns too fiercely with all of them.

The « soleil » or king whose death we witness at the end of Book II, is therefore too stoical to be Homeric. Deaths as stoical as this are to be found in the martyrologies, in

Mrs. Behn's « Oroonoko » and in « Les Incas » of Marmontel. They are to be found also in relations of French America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chactas, the blind and ancient sage, was perhaps suggested by the Homer of legend. He is too learned, too little of a warrior, however to be compared to Nestor. Yet the attempt is made in Book 1, page 192, Garnier edition) : « Que sommes-nous auprès de nos aïeux ? » but there the likeness ceases. He more than any character of « Les Natchez » is an inheritance from the « Télémaque » ; it is he who maintains the didactic character of the work, as does Las Casas in « Les Incas ». But, as has been already said, Homer is any thing but didactic.

## 2. *Situations*

It might be that, though individual characters in « Les Natchez » cannot be called Homeric, there are still certain effects of ensemble which could be traced to his inspiration. The scene of the epic is laid in an uncultivated region, amid a pastoral people, in whom we might see, as did le père Lafitau, many traits and customs that allied them to the ancients and thus to the characters of the « Odyssey ». Chateaubriand has set out to paint patriarchal society and the author or authors of the « Odyssey » had a similar purpose. But the one wrote of a civilization he knew and of which he was a part, the other of one he had but dimly seen, being the heir himself of a quite different culture. It is hard to see how he could attain a correct understanding of an undeveloped society except through the medium of books, i.e. those books which have been handed down to us from such a period. In other words a man could never write understandingly of primitive peoples, provided of course he had not lived among them, without a very thorough study of the two chief works of primitive society, Homer and the earlier portions of the Bible. It is not our function here to decide whether or not Chateaubriand was well acquainted with the Bible but we can confront « Les Natchez » scene by scene with

the « Iliad » or the « Odyssey » and decide whether the same spirit animates both.

The first book of « Les Natchez » is devoted to two episodes, the arrival of René among the Indians and the drawing up of the troops of Chépar. There are several passages in the « Odyssey » which might be compared to the opening scene of « Les Natchez » : Book 3, the arrival of Telemachus at Pylos ; Book 4, his arrival at Sparta, or, in Book 7, the arrival of Odysseus at the court of Alcinous. The first of these may be taken as a basis for comparison. The narrative runs briefly as follows :

Telemachus, arriving in the company of Athena, disguised as Nestor, at Pylos, finds the people of that city doing sacrifice to Poseidon on the seashore. Telemachus, who is still inexperienced in the ways of the world and timid, is encouraged by Athena. On seeing the strangers the townspeople throng about them, first among them being Peisistratus who leads the two to a seat beside his father, Nestor, and his brother, Thrasymedes. They are given portions of meat and wine and requested to pray to Poseidon. After the prayer all join in feasting and not till it is over does Nestor inquire the purpose of the stranger's coming. Telemachus then asks for news of his father. Nestor tells what he knows of the fate of the heroes of the siege of Troy, but cannot satisfy Telemachus as to the whereabouts of his father. After telling, at Telemachus' request, how Agamemnon met with death at the hands of Aegisthus, Nestor advises Odysseus' son to inquire for further news at the court of Menelaus, who has just returned from distant wanderings, but urges him to pause for a night in his palace. Athena counsels Telemachus to do this and then disappears in the likeness of a sea-eagle. All go to Nestor's palace and, after a libation to Athena, to rest. In the morning sacrifice is offered to the goddess, Telemachus is bathed by Polycaste, the youngest daughter of Nestor, another feast is partaken of, bread and wine and dainties are placed in the car, and Telemachus departs in the company of Peisistratus.

René, arriving among the Natchez, beholds a quite different scene. Only women, picking strawberries, appear before his eyes. They flee at his approach like doves.

He halts at the entrance to a cabin where he finds a family partaking of a meal in silence. A girl, with a sad destiny on her beautiful features, enters the cabin a moment and withdraws. René and his guides go to the « place des jeux » where after a time they encounter the blind old man, Chactas. Under a catalpa tree, the scene lit by torches, for night had come on, the strangers and Chactas smoke the pipe of peace. René asks to be admitted into the tribe. Chactas replies that he is only a sachem, without such authority. He tells of his debt to a Frenchman (Fénelon) whom he does not name. He counsels René to reflect on the course of action he proposes to pursue, and inquires about his past. René replies that his is a heart that may not be told. Until the chief or sun returns Chactas offers to take René into his home, the sun alone having the authority to admit strangers into the tribe. As René enters the cabin of Chactas water is warmed in order that his feet may be washed ; willow leaves are burned to the Manitous that honor strangers. Maple syrup is drunk out of a curiously carved cup, one in which six generations have drunk. Then once more Chactas and René smoke the pipe of peace and two doves are offered to the wanderer. After the repast a bare-armed girl, dancing the dance of hospitality, conducts René to his bed.

It will be evident that of these two scenes of pastoral simplicity, the more refined is undoubtedly that laid among the Indians. The meals of the Greeks are copious and crude, those of the Indians light and sparse. The sacrifices, too, are of a different nature, those of the Greeks bloody and those of the Indians, the smoke of the pipe of peace and willow leaves. The stoicism of the Indian character is revealed in the games of the youth at play on the « place des jeux », they rival one another to see who can hold the longest a burning coal. None of this Spartan spirit, we have said already, is to be found in Homer. And finally, one is more aware of the presence of women in this society than in the essentially masculine society of the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey ».

The drinking out of a common cup and the conducting, of the visitor to his couch or to the bath are points the two scenes have in common.

Our conclusion therefore must be that whether or not the opening scene of « Les Natchez » be considered primitive and patriarchal it does not owe its particular flavor to the imitation of Homer. The second scene, the marshalling of the French forces, manifestly bears a certain resemblance to the marshalling of the host in Book 2, lines 455-483 of the « Iliad ». There is in the description of Chateaubriand the same crowding of comparisons that is to be found in the passage from the « Iliad ». In the twenty-nine lines of Greek there are seven comparisons and in the concluding page and a half of Book 1, the passage corresponding to that from Homer, there are nine. Not one of Chateaubriand's however is copied from the passage in Homer mentioned, yet it must be said that both authors give an admirable picture of a great host on march. We give the passage from Homer first.

« And as the many tribes of feathered birds, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans, on the Asian mead by Kaystrios' stream, fly hither and thither joying in their plumage, and with loud cries settle ever onwards, and the mead resounds ; even so poured forth the many tribes of warriors from ships and huts into the Skamandrian plain. And the earth echoed terribly beneath the tread of men and horses. So stood they in the flowery Skamandrian plain, unnumbered as are leaves and flowers in their season. Even as the many tribes of thick flies that hover about a herdsman's steading in the spring season, when milk drencheth the pails, even in like number stood the flowing-haired Achæians upon the plain in face of the Trojans, eager to rend them asunder. And even as the goatherds easily divide the ranging flocks of goats when they mingle in the pasture, so did their captains marshal them on this side and on that, to enter into the fray, and in their midst lord Agamemnon, his head and eyes like unto Zeus whose joy is in the thunder (1), and his waist like unto Ares and his breast unto Poseidon. Even as the bull standeth out far foremost amid the herd, for he

(1) Perhaps rather, « hurler of the thunderbolt ».

is pre-eminent amid the pasturing kine, even such did Zeus make Atreides on that day, pre-eminent among many and chief amid heroes ».

The following are two of Chateaubriand's paragraphs :

« Les tambours se taisent ; une voix s'élève, et va se répétant le long des bataillons, de chef en chef, comme d'écho en écho. Mille tubes enlevés de la terre frappent ensemble l'épaule du fantassin ; les cavaliers tirent leurs sabres, dont l'acier, réfléchissant les rayons du soleil, mêle ses éclairs aux triples ondes de feu des baïonnettes : ainsi durant une nuit d'hiver brille une solitude où des tribus canadiennes célèbrent la fête de leurs génies ; réunies sur la surface solide d'un fleuve, elles dansent à la lueur des pins allumés de toutes parts ; les cataractes enchaînées, les montagnes de neige, les forêts de cristal, se revêtent de splendeur, tandis que les sauvages croient voir les esprits du nord voguer dans leurs canots aériens, avec des pagayes de flammes, sur l'aurore mouvante de Borée.

Aussitôt que la revue est finie, Chépar veut que les capitaines exercent les troupes aux jeux de Mars. L'ordre est donné ; le coup de baguette retentit. Soudain vous eussiez vu le soldat tendre et porter en avant le pied gauche, avec l'assurance et la fermeté d'un Hercule. L'armée entière s'ébranle ; ses pas égaux mesurent la marche que frappent les tambours. Les jambes noircies des soldats ouvrent et ferment une longue avenue, en se croisant comme les ciseaux d'une jeune fille qui découpe d'ingénieux ouvrages. Par intervalles, les caisses d'airain que recouvre la peau de l'onagre se taisent au signe du géant qui les guide ; alors mille instruments, fils d'Eole, animent les forêts, tandis que les cymbales du nègre se choquent dans l'air et tournent comme deux soleils. »

It should be noticed, in anticipation of the study to be made later on of the comparisons of Chateaubriand, that the image of the scissors serves to make the picture of the marching column more clear but is not in itself martial or a sort to strengthen an impression of war or tumult. The



comparison of the ice and snowy mountains on a winter's night is however admirably calculated to strengthen both the visual image and to convey the spirit of the occasion, yet the resemblance of the objects illustrated to the objects with which they are compared is in this case less exact.

If the inspiration of the concluding passage of Book One may be traced to Homer, the muster role of the army which immediately precedes it would seem rather to be modeled on the muster role of the Italian forces at the end of Book Seven of the Aeneid of Virgil than on the catalogue of the Ships. The latter is the description of a host voyaging across the sea whereas Virgil's account like that of Chateaubriand is of an army gathering on land. The Catalogue of the Ships is of course a late and inferior portion of the « Iliad » ; to have preferred Virgil to Homer in choosing a model for this passage is not to be ascribed to want of understanding of the latter.

The figure of Satan in Book Two is of course derived from Tasso and Milton. The same may be said of Renown and the other abstractions mentioned in that book, though to be sure abstractions are to be found in Virgil too. There are only a few instances of personification in Homer ; the principal are that of Infatuation in Book 19, Line 91 and that of the Prayers, Book 9, Lines 592-512. We quote both passages :

« Eldest daughter of Zeus is Ate who blindeth all, a power of bane : delicate are her feet, for not upon earth she goeth, but walketh over the heads of men, making men to fall ; and entangleth this one or that. Yea even Zeus was blinded upon a time, he who they say is greatest among gods and men. »

« Moreover Prayers of penitence are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of Sin. For Sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all prayers and goeth before them over all the earth making men fall, and Prayers follow behind to heal the harm. Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless and hear his petitions ; but when one denieth them and stiffly refuseth, then depart

they and make prayer unto Zeus the son of Kronos that sin may come upon such an one, that he may fall and pay the price. »

In the second of these passages the personification is much more vivid than in the first : the prayers are halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance. We have here certainly the germ of a tendency which in Hesiod and later on in Plato and Xenophon was considerably amplified but never became a common figure of speech. To quote the note of the Leaf and Bayfield edition to the former passage « the two, i.e. this allegory and the other stand alone in Homer, and it seems necessary to class them among the very latest parts of the poems. »

But if a fully developed personification, such as is necessary to form an allegory, is rare in Homer and late in origin, faint suggestions of personification may be found in older parts of the poem. Thus Strife is personified in the eleventh Book, lines 73-77, the Aristeia of Agamemnon :

« And woful Discord was glad at the sight, for she alone of the gods was with them in the war ; for the other gods were not beside them, but in peace they sat within their walls, where the goodly mansion of each was builded in the folds of Olympus. »

Strife is personified at the beginning of the same book but in what is considered an apocryphal passage. In another authentic passage, lines 681-683 of Book 16, Apollo entrusts the body of Sarpedon, slain by Menelaus, to Sleep and Death :

« And sent him to be wafted by sweet convoy, the twin brethren Sleep and Death, that swiftly set him in the rich land of wide Lykia. »

Thus, as in all cases, the faint origins of a later tendency are apparent in Homer. It is altering the proportions, stressing what Homer did not stress and neglecting what

Homer emphasized, that produces a Virgil and a Chateaubriand.

The scene in Chactas' cabin, in Book 2, resembles too much the opening scene of « Les Natchez » to deserve special consideration. We have seen that the inspiration of that scene was not to be sought in Homer. Nor may we look to Homer for the inspiration of the council of war in the same book. There are several instances in the « Iliad » of a council of war held to avert the danger of an imminent attack, now by the Greeks, (Book 9, line 9), now by the Trojans (Book 18, line 245) but in none of these is there precedent for the stirring appeals to national feeling made by Adario or for the reproaches of Chactas. In a council in Homer the question at stake is one of expediency : shall the Trojans reenter the city or meet the pursuing Greeks in the plain ? Shall the Greeks retire from before Troy or fight till the end ? Shall an embassy be sent to Achilles and what concessions shall be made to him ? Diomedes, in his manly speech in Book 9, lines 32-49, comes nearest the feeling of national pride :

« Sir, deemest thou that the sons of the Achaians are thus indeed cowards and weaklings as thou sayest ? But and if thine own heart be set on departing, go thy way ; the way is before thee, and thy ships stand beside the sea, even the great multitude that followed thee from Mykene. But all the other flowing-haired Achaians shall tarry here until we lay waste Troy ».

Thersites (Book 2, line 235) has quite a different view :

« Soft fools, base things of shame, ye women of Achaia and men no more, let us depart home with our ships and leave this fellow here in Troyland to gorge him with meeds of honor, that he may see whether our aid avail him aught or no. »

We must judge from the above that the Greek spirit would best be shown in abandoning Troy in order to spite Agamemnon. The fact that such a sentiment is put in the mouth of the one character in the « Iliad » who consistently receives the author's condemnation is proof that in the mind of the poet there did exist a feeling of pa-

triotism which, without being over-stressed, animates all the Grecian heroes.

It is noteworthy that the indications of national feeling, slight as they are, are more common among the Greeks than the Trojans. The reason for this is that the Trojans have wronged their enemies : they are conscious of the inferiority of their position morally. And then the author, impartial as he in general is, is a Greek and expresses his own personal bias.

We have already discussed the friendship of Outougamiz for René, showing how essentially unHomeric it is ; we need not therefore devote any further attention to the scene at the beginning of Book 3 which recounts how this friendship began. There is nothing to claim our attention either in the scene of the council of the French where the rascal Febriano is opposed by d'Artaguet and where le père Souel displays a moderation and a philosophy paralleled by that of Chactas. The scene of individual conflict, René against Ondouré, with which Book 3 concluded might remind us of Homer were it not so wholly an affair of muscle and brawn, not of weapons. And the scene reaches its climax in an enormous comparison such as is never found in Homer, and seldom, we hope, elsewhere :

« Sur les rivages du Nil ou dans les fleuves des Florides, deux crocodiles se disputent au printemps une femelle brillante : les rivaux s'élancent des bords opposés du fleuve et se joignent au milieu. De leurs bras ils se saisissent ; ils ouvrent des gueules effroyables ; leurs dents se heurtent avec un craquement horrible ; leurs écailles se choquent comme les armures de deux guerriers ; le sang coule de leurs mâchoires écumantes et jaillit en gerbes de leurs naseaux brûlants ; ils poussent de sourds mugissements, semblables au bruit lointain du tonnerre. Le fleuve, qu'ils frappent de leur queue, mugit autour de leurs flancs comme autour d'un vaisseau battu par la tempête. Tantôt ils s'abîment dans des gouffres sans fond et continuent leur lutte au voisinage des enfers ; un impur limon s'élève des eaux ; tantôt ils remontent à la surface des vagues, se chargent avec une furie redoublée, s'enfoncent de nouveau dans les ondes, reparaissent, plongent, reviennent, replongent, et semblent vouloir éterniser leur

épouvantable combat : tels se pressent les deux guerriers, tels ils s'étouffent dans leurs bras serrés par les nœuds de la colère.

There are two faults in the comparison cited above : first, its abnormal length ; second, its doubtful taste. A crocodile may fittingly stand as a likeness of the hideous Ondouré but hardly as a likeness of René. The struggle of a nobler brute, symbolizing René, with the crocodile, would have been in place. And as regards length, the comparison is wholly unHomeric. The longest of Homer's comparisons is shorter than this : our attention is directed so long to the struggling beasts that we forget they are brought in merely for the sake of illustration. And no matter who the warrior described may be there are no cases in Homer of a human being compared to an essentially disgusting kind of animal. As the comparison under discussion covers a quarter of the passage describing the struggle between René and Ondouré we may perhaps decide without further comment that Homeric inspiration is not to be sought here.

Book 4, the scene of which is laid in the Heaven of Tasso and Milton, need not concern us. Books 5, 6, 7, 8 are devoted to the narrative of Chactas. In so far as they describe a savage's impressions of a great and ripened culture there is in them of course nothing Homeric. The purpose of these books is for the most part didactic and was probably introduced by Chateaubriand because he felt that didacticism was essential to the genre. Without it he would be straying too far from « Le Télémaque ». But his desire to conform to the genre has made him guilty of an artistic fault of which Fénelon was incapable and for which there is of course no precedent in Fénelon's model, the « Odyssey ». The « Odyssey » and the « Télémaque » each contain a retrospective narrative but in each work that narrative is put into the mouth of the main character and the telling of the narrative in some degree at least helps on the action. In the one case it helps Odysseus to a convoy from the Phaeacians, in the other Calypso learns who has fallen into her power and what sort of person he is. Had Chateaubriand followed his models he would have put the retrospective narra-

tive into the mouth of René and we should here have had that narrative which now goes by that wanderer's name. We should have learned what had been the previous course of the hero's existence and we should have known why he is what he is. Chactas' narrative is therefore un-Homeric both because of its substance and because it has nothing to do with the main thread of the story. It disrupts the unity of what for all its faults might have been an interesting, not to say appealing, story. Of the several blots on « *Les Natchez* » the narrative of Chactas is the greatest.

The shipwreck at the end of Book 7 and the sojourn among the Esquimos in Book 8 are in no sense reminiscent of Homer. The Sioux Indians seem to be introduced in order to provide the book with a Utopian race, another essential of the roman à la *Télémaque*: they may be compared to the Bétique of Fénelon.

Up to the present the only trace of Homeric influence we have been able to find has occurred in connection with military scenes. Books 9 and 10 present us with the battle between the French and the Natchez; let us see if this conflict is conceived after a Homeric pattern. This may perhaps be done more thoroughly if we first follow the fortunes of a Homeric battle, namely that recounted in the *aristeia* of Agamemnon, Book 11 of the « *Iliad* ».

In the original poem, « *The Wrath of Achilles* », Book 11, the *Aristeia* of Agamemnon, is the first scene of battle. The marshalling of the hosts in Book 2 to which we have already referred was immediately followed by the attack on the Trojans here recounted. It ends in the defeat of the Greeks and the advance of the Trojans toward the ships. Line 61 of Book 11 is supposed to follow directly the passage at the end of Book two (lines 786-810) in which Iris, the messenger of Zeus, in the likeness of Priam's son Polites, urges the Trojans to prepare for conflict. We find that the effect of mass, which was so striking in the marshalling of the host, prevails at the beginning of the battle. The dead fall like sheaves before the sickle of the reaper but the two lines hold equal. Then begins the prowess of Agamemnon and we follow his individual exploits through nearly two hundred lines (91-266). After

slaying numerous heroes he is finally wounded by Koon whom he slays but the pains of his wound soon compel the leader of the Grecian host to withdraw. Hector, whom Iris had warned to hold aloof during the triumph of Agamemnon, now leads the Trojans in a victorious assault. But Odysseus and Diomedes rally against him and Hector is stunned by a blow on the shield from the latter. Odysseus and Diomedes are in turn wounded, the first by Sokos, whom he later slays, and the second by Alexander. Machaon who with Nestor and Idomeneus is opposing Hector in another part of the field is also wounded by an arrow of Alexander. Ajax is the next Greek champion but he also is forced to retire and the arrows of Alexander once more find a mark in Eurypylos who tries to aid Ajax.

This is as far as Book 11 takes us in the description of the battle. After an interpolation the original narrative of « The Wrath of Achilles » goes on again from line 592 of Book 15, recounting the battle of the ships. But enough has been said to show that a Homeric conflict is essentially a matter of individual struggle, of the contests of champion with champion. And the tone of the poem is that of savage delight in battle. Only rarely does the note of pity strike through as in the following lines (251-245) :

« So even there he fell, and slept a sleep of bronze most piteously, far from his wedded wife, helping the folk of the city, far from his bride, of whom he had known no joy, and much had he given for her : first a hundred kine he gave, and thereafter promised a thousand goats and sheep together, whereof he had herds unspeakable. »

To us the naïveté of the last lines adds almost a humorous touch, but to the Greeks of Homer's time the impression must have been wholly one of pathos.

Omitting Book 9 and coming at once to the battle proper in Book 10 we find that the battle of the French and the Natchez begins with an effect of mass, only to proceed very shortly to the achievements of a single warrior, Adario. After an ineffectual cannonade and when the Natchez no longer have any powder for their muskets Adario exhorts his comrades :



« Jeunes guerriers des tribus du Serpent et du Castor, suivez vos pères ; ils vont vous ouvrir le chemin. Il dit et fond à la tête des sachems sur les enfants des Gaules. Outougamiz l'entendit, et se tournant vers ses compagnons : Amis, imitons nos pères ! Suivi de toute la jeunesse, il se précipite dans les rangs des Français ».

The exploits of Adario are too many to be recounted in full but a few extracts may be given to show that they form a veritable Homeric aristeia :

« En achevant ces mots, Adario se jette sur Lesbin ; il lui enfonce son poignard entre la troisième et la quatrième côte, à l'endroit du cœur : Lesbin s'abat comme un taureau que le stylet a frappé. Le sachem lui appuie un pied sur le cou ; d'une main il saisit et tire à lui la chevelure du guerrier, de l'autre il la découpe avec une partie du crâne, et, suspendant l'horrible trophée à sa ceinture, il assaillit le brave Hubert, qui l'attendait. D'un coup de son fort genou Adario lui meurtrit le flanc, et, tandis qu'Hubert se roule sur la poussière, du tranchant de sa hache l'Indien lui abat les deux bras et le laisse expirer rugissant.

« Comme un loup qui, ayant dévoré un agneau, ne respire plus que le meurtre, le sachem vise l'enseigne Gédoin, et d'une flèche lui attache la main au bâton du drapeau français. Il blesse ensuite Adémar, le fils de Charles. Habitant des rives de la Dordogne, Adémar avait été élevé avec toute sorte de tendresse par un vieux père dont il était le seul appui et qu'il nourrissait de l'honorable prix donné à ses armes. Mais Charles ne devait jamais presser son fils dans ses bras, au retour des pays lointains. La hache du sachem, atteignant Adémar au visage, lui enleva une partie du front, du nez et des lèvres. Le soldat reste quelque temps debout, objet affreux, au milieu de ses compagnons épouvantés : tel se montre un bouleau dont les sauvages ont enlevé l'écorce au printemps, le tronc mis à nu et teint d'une sève rougie se fait apercevoir de loin parmi les arbres de la forêt. Adémar tombe sur son visage mutilé, et la nuit éternelle l'environne (page 308). Soulevant une pierre énorme, telle que deux Européens la porteraient à peine pour marquer la borne de quelques jeux dans une fête publique le sachem le lance aussi

légèrement qu'une flèche contre le fils de Malherbe » (page 309).

The aristeia of Adario is not the only episode of the tenth book that reminds one of Homer. Shortly after the bursting of Foulard's cannon we come upon a conflict of savages and Frenchmen around the corpse of Nipane, father of three sons who fell when their father had already received his death blow :

« Le grand-prêtre, armé d'une torche ardente, rallie les sauvages autour du corps de Nipane. Adario et Outougamiz enlèvent le cadavre, mais Beaumanoir saisit d'une main le sachem, l'oblige à lâcher sa proie, tandis que de l'autre main il lève la massue. Adario recule et détourne le coup. Alors le ciel marque à la fois la fin de la gloire et la vie de Beaumanoir. D'un revers de sa hache, Adario fend le côté de son ennemi : le Breton sent l'air entrer dans sa poitrine par un chemin inconnu et son cœur palpiter à découvert. Ses yeux deviennent blancs ; il tord les lèvres ; ses dents craquent ; la massue échappe à sa main ; il tombe ; la vie l'abandonne, ses membres se roidissent dans la mort.

Adario s'élançant sur Beaumanoir pour lui enlever sa chevelure : « A moi, Natchez ! » écrit-il, Nipane est vengé ! » Les sauvages jettent de grandes clameurs, et reviennent à l'attaque. Du côté des Français, les tambours battent la charge, la musique et les clairons retentissent : d'Artaguet, faisant baisser la baïonnette à ses grenadiers, s'avance pour protéger le corps de son loyal compagnon d'armes. La mêlée devient horrible : Lamek reçoit au-dessous des côtes un coup d'épée, comme il saisissait par les pieds le cadavre de Beaumanoir. La membrane qui soutenait les entrailles de Lameck est rompue ; elles s'affaissent dans les aines, lesquelles se gonflent comme un outre. L'Indien se pâme avec d'accablantes douleurs et un dur sommeil ferme ses yeux.

As readers of the « Iliad » will remember, all of one book, the seventeenth and the beginning of another, the eighteenth, are devoted to a conflict over the body of a fallen hero, Patroklos. A similar conflict engages in Book 16, line 552, over the body of Sarpedon, slain by Patroklos.

The aristeia of a hero and the contest above a hero's fallen body are two of the common episodes which may be said to form the framework of a Homeric battle. Another device is the contest of champions chosen from the two sides, such as that of Menelaus and Paris in Book 3 or that of Ajax and Hector in Book 7. Of this device there is of course no example in the battle of the French with the Natchez. A last device is the besieging of a definite objective like the trench and wall before the Greek ships in Book 12 of the « Iliad » or the ships themselves in Book 13. Such a definite objective in Chateaubriand's battle would be the assault of the cannon by Outougamiz, but there is no opportunity for such parallelism as is found in Virgil's imitation of the same episode in Book 10 of the « Aeneid », at the assault of the Trojan camp.

The name of Virgil arouses us to the real nature of Chateaubriand's inspiration, here as often before. The similarity of certain battle scenes in Homer and Chateaubriand has been stressed in order to bring into as high relief as possible all that could possibly be called Homeric in « Les Natchez ». But it is time to say that after all there is nothing here to make us conclude that for once our author has turned aside from his usual models to one who was more vigorous and wiser than they. Let the reader turn to passage after passage in the four concluding books of the « Aeneid » and decide for himself if both in letter and in spirit Chateaubriand's inspiration was not there. The same elegiac spirit that infuses these pages of « Les Natchez » infuses those of the « Aeneid » too. A passage chosen at random from Book 10, lines 380-411, will illustrate the truth of this observation :

Obvius huic primum, fatis adductus iniquis,  
Fit Lagus : hunc, magno vellit dum pondere saxum,  
Intorto figit telo, discrimina costis  
Per medium qua spina dabat ; hastamque receptat  
Ossibus haerentem. Quem non super occupat Hisbo,  
Ille quidem hoc sperans : nam Pallas ante ruentem,  
Dum furit, incautum crudeli morte sodalis,  
Excipit ; atque ensem tumido in pulmone recondit.  
Hinc Sthenelum petit, et Rhoeti de gente vetusta  
Anchemolum, thalamos ausum incestare novercae.

Vos etiam, gemini, Rutulis cecidistis in arvis,  
 Daucia, Laride Thymberque, simillima proles,  
 Indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error.  
 At nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas :  
 Nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Euandrius abstulit ensis ;  
 Te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit,  
 Semianimesque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.  
 Arcadas, accensos monitu, et praeclara tuentes  
 Facta viri, mixtus dolor, et pudor armat in hostes.  
 Tum Pallas bijugis fugientem Rhoetea praeter  
 Trajicit. Hoc spatium, tantumque morae fuit Ilo ;  
 Ilo namque procul validam direxerat hastam :  
 Quam medius Rhoeteus intercipit, optime Teuthra,  
 Te fugiens, fratremque Tyren ; curruque volutus  
 Caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva.  
 Ac, velut, optato ventis aestate coortis,  
 Dispersa immittit silvis incendia pastor ;  
 Correptis subito mediis, extenditur una  
 Horrida per latos acies Vulcania campos ;  
 Ille sedens victor flammam despectat ovantes ;  
 Non aliter socium virtus coit omnis in unum,  
 Teque juvat, Palla.

« First Lagus meets him, drawn thither by malign destiny ; him, as he tugs at a ponderous stone, hurling his spear where the spine ran dissevering the ribs, he pierces and wrenches out the spear where it stuck fast in the bone. Nor does Hisbo catch him stooping, for all that he hoped it ; for Pallas, as he rushes unguarded on, furious at his comrade's cruel death, receives him on his sword and buries it in his distended lungs. Next he attacks Sthenius, and Anchemolus of Rhoetus' ancient family, who dared to violate the bridal chamber of his stepmother. You, too, the twins Larides and Thymber, fell on the Rutulian fields, children of Daucus, indistinguishable for likeness and a sweet perplexity to your parents. But now Pallas made cruel difference between you ; for thy head, Thymber, is swept off by Evander's sword ; thy right, Larides, severed seeks its master, and the dying fingers jerk and clutch at the steel. Mingled wrath and shame arm the Arcadians against the foe, kindled by his exhortation as they view his mighty deeds. Then Pallas pierces Rhoeteus as he flies past in his chariot. This space, this much of respite was given to Ilius ; for at Ilius he had aimed the strong spear from afar, and Rhoeteus intercepts its passage, in

flight from thee, noble Teuthras and Tyres thy brother ; he rolls from the chariot in death, and his heels strike the Rutulian fields. And as the shepherd, when summer winds have risen to his desire, kindles the woods dispersedly ; on a sudden the mid spaces catch, and a single flickering line of fire spreads wide over the plain ; he sits looking down on his conquest and the revel of the flames ; even so, Pallas, do thy brave comrades gather close to sustain thee. »

With the collapse of our effort to derive at least one episode of « *Les Natchez* » from Homer we may as well admit that we stand too close to the end of the epic portion of that work (the only part that calls for our consideration) to make further investigation very promising. And indeed we known already that Book 12, with its description of Outougamiz' efforts for his friend René, is purely Virgilian. As for Book 11, with the Spartan impassiveness of the Indian parents on hearing that their sons have perished in battle with the Illinois or of the old Soleil tormented at the stake, we are in a world which is neither Homeric nor Virgilian but built up from Charlevoix and other narrators of Indian manners. We are thus in a position to state finally and emphatically that except for diction and poetic imagery there is no evidence whatsoever in the twelve epic books of « *Les Natchez* » that Chateaubriand was either a student or even a casual reader of Homer. But we have still the poetic images of « *Les Natchez* » to study and it may be that here we shall find some trace of the venerated master.

But before proceeding to this division of our subject the question arises whether a better knowledge of Homer would have helped Chateaubriand in the composition of « *Les Natchez* ». He has some sense of a battle in Homer, derived from Virgil : has this knowledge added to the reality of his picture of Indian life ? The description of the mustering of Chépar's forces is very graphic but can any one imagine that the gathering of French forces in Louisiana was on a scale so grand ? Whatever may have been the total of the Grecian forces before Troy the affect produced in Homer is of a vast host such as the French never fathered in their colonies. And the Indians, fighting from tree

to tree, rarely in the open, cannot in any true sense be compared to the Greeks fighting in the plain. Chateaubriand's knowledge, direct or indirect, has served him here in evil stead. Is it too much to say that more knowledge of Homer would have led him only into further anachronisms and absurdities ? The remark would be true in so far as the customs and external life of the people are concerned. As was remarked in the introduction to the present study the Indians and the Greeks of Homer represent two widely different stages of civilization : the Greeks of 1000 B. C., were far more advanced than any Indian tribe unless it be the Aztecs or the Incas or the builders of the Yucatan and Central American temples. As there is no parallel between the battles of the Natchez and those of the besiegers of Troy, so there is no parallel between their dwellings, their religious ceremonies, their social observances, etc.

But if a better knowledge of Homer would not have aided Chateaubriand by affording him analogies with Indian life it is certain that a better acquaintance with the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey » would have given him more insight into the psychology of primitive races (for the Greeks, though more cultured, were still a primitive people) and for that matter into human psychology in general. We should then have had a less effusive Outougamiz and perhaps a more resilient Céluta and we should not have heard Esquimaux, as they floated to the shore on icebergs, singing rondelays to their loves (Book 8). Homer could have corrected the spirit, though he could not have improved the form, of « Les Natchez ».

There was but one way to describe the life of the Indians truthfully and that was to forget the past entirely, as affording us no records, in literature, of so primitive a people and hence no models to be imitated. If there was anything in the literary annals of the past susceptible of affording analogies with the life of the Indians the unerring genius of a lesser writer than Chateaubriand found it years later in a poem just coming to men's attention around 1800, the « Kalevala ». Here was the poem Chateaubriand should have turned to (supposing it had been accessible to him), the epic of a nature loving people, the

epic that tells nothing of cities. Had he imitated this, keeping before him all the time the vigor of the Homeric poems, he might have been more successful in depicting the Indians than was the author of « *Hiawatha* ». But it would have been essential to add to the inspiration of the « *Kalevala* » the inspiration of Homer, for the Finnish epic barely speaks of war.

### 3. *Poetic Ornaments and Diction*

The most common poetic ornament, derived from Homer, which Chateaubriand employs, is the Comparison. As we study the « *Iliad* » and the « *Odyssey* » we discover that there are two kinds of comparisons or similes in Homer, namely, the visual and the emotional. In the visual simile the comparison is between one object and another, in the emotional simile the comparison is between a tangible object and a state of mind or, sometimes, an abstraction. The first is primarily epic, it is very common in the « *Iliad* » and except in a few late passages (for instance « *Iliad* », 14, line 16) predominates to the exclusion of the emotional simile. The latter occurs a dozen or more times in the « *Odyssey* » (Book 19, line 494, Book 19, line 518, Book 20, line 14, Book 180, line 25, Book 23, line 233), although here also the visual simile predominates. One of the great differences between the two epics however is the relative infrequency and, in general, the want of vividness of the similes of the « *Odyssey* ».

The office of the simile is twofold, first, to make more vivid the thing illustrated, secondly, to bring into the epic an element wanting in the milieu in which the characters of the epic are moving, as when, in the midst of battle, the comparison brings in a picture of woodsmen or of the sea or of an object of art other than implements of war. The first object, it has been said, is to make more vivid the object illustrated. More vivid, but not necessarily more clear. In the « *Iliad* » at least the comparison may not be very close or, sometimes, only part may have a close relation and the rest of the simile goes on to tell of



something unlike. This is where the second office of the simile militates against the first. Croiset (page 355, *Histoire de la Littérature grecque*, Paris, 1910), has this to say anent the similes of the « *Odyssey* » :

« Le plus souvent, elles servent, non plus à agrandir les conceptions, ni à orner le récit, mais à expliquer les choses représentées. Lorsque Ulysse, avec l'aide de ses compagnons, enfonce le pieu brûlant dans l'œil du Cyclope, le poète le compare à un charpentier qui, à l'aide d'une tarière, perce une poutre, et il nous fait voir le mouvement de l'outil, tiré alternativement dans les deux sens par deux équipes d'ouvriers. Recherche d'exactitude, qui prouve assez que le besoin de décrire avec précision commençait à prédominer dans la poésie sur le désir d'idéaliser. Et cela est plus sensible encore, quand, aussitôt après, le narrateur nous dépeint l'horrible blessure du Cyclope :

« 'Lorsqu'un forgeron plonge dans l'eau froide une lourde hache ou une doloire qu'il veut tremper — car c'est là ce qui donne au fer sa force, — le métal bouillant crie au milieu de la vapeur ; ainsi l'œil du monstre sifflait autour du pieu d'olivier. '

« Si un des poètes de l'*Iliade* avait eu à traiter ce passage on peut être assuré, ce me semble, qu'il n'aurait pas décrit de cette manière. Ce qui l'eût préoccupé, c'eût été de traduire par une comparaison hardie et saisissante la force de la douleur subite qu'éprouve le monstre ou l'intensité effroyable de ses clameurs. Par instinct, il aurait cherché l'effet dramatique, là où le poète de l'*Odysée* cherche plutôt la justesse descriptive. »

Because of the difference signaled above one of our objects must be to decide whether, in the use of the visual simile, Chateaubriant resembles more closely the authors of the « *Odyssey* » or those of the « *Iliad* ». Has he or has he not a care for exactitude ? Is his goal vividness or precision ? But before deciding this question it would be well to examine several of the more striking similes of the « *Iliad* » and the « *Odyssey* », in order to be sure of our model before studying the copy.

The first simile of the « Iliad » is very brief, a visual simile : « He came like the night. » It describes the coming of Apollo who personifies the pestilence that besets the Greeks. The next describes Agamemnon, standing angry amid the assembly :

« His eyes were like flashing fire. »

The third simile (Book 1, line 359) describes Thetis as she answers the prayer of her son Achilles :

« Straightway she rose from the gray sea like a mist. »

Two things are to be noted about the above similes, the sole that occur in the first book of the poem : they are very brief and they describe individuals. They hardly prepare us for the next ten, occurring in the first 475 lines of Book 2, all of which are relatively long and all of which describe men en masse (lines 87, 144, 147, 209, 394, 455, 459, 468, 469, 474). It will suffice to quote the first of these to show the type :

« Even as when the tribes of thronging bees issue from some hollow rock, ever in fresh procession, and fly clustering among the flowers of spring, and some on this hand and some on that fly thick ; even so from ships and huts before the low beach marched forth their many tribes by companies to the place of assembly. »

With line 477 we return to the type of simile that describes an individual : it is a not uncommon type, the comparison of a hero to divinity.

« In their midst lord Agamemnon, his head and eyes like unto Zeus whose joy is in the thunder, and his waist like unto Ares and his breast unto Poseidon. »

There follows immediately another simile, describing an individual, Agamemnon. The next (line 754) gives a new category, the comparison of one natural object to another, of a stream to oil.

« But (i.e. the river Titaresius meeting the Peneius) floweth on over him like unto oil. »

In line 764 there is a comparison of horses to birds :

« Those that Eumelus drove, swift as birds. »

The last three in the book, lines 780, 781, and 800, again give the impression of mass.

Of the similes mentioned up to the present moment only three (Book 2, lines 209, 394, and 781) describe sound ; the others are visual comparisons.

We come to what may be called an emotional simile in line 23 of Book 3 :

« Even as a lion is glad when he lighteth upon a great carcass, a horned stag, or a wild goat that he hath found, being an hungered ; and so he devoureth it amain, even though the fleet hounds and lusty youths set upon him ; even thus was Menelaus glad when his eyes beheld godlike Alexandros. »

Unfortunately the above comparison fails to give us a good conception of the emotional simile for the reason that though both terms of the comparison are the emotions of the lion and Menelaus, a comparison could also have been drawn, as it frequently is, between the appearance of the lion and the appearance of the warrior. The Third Book, it may be said, is supposed to belong to the Second Stratum (« The Iliad of Homer » Leaf and Bayfield, MacMillan and Co, London, 1908. Notes to Book 3 page 323, volume 1) and this circumstance accounts for the introduction of a comparison of this sort.

A more clear-cut example of the emotional simile is to be found in line 60 of Book 3 :

« Thy heart is ever keen, even as an axe that pierces the beam at the hand of a man that shapeth a ship's timber with skill, and thereby is the man's blow strengthened ; even such is thy heart undaunted in thy breast. »

In line 222 we find a simile in which the object described is not a human being nor a moving thing like the river in line 754 of Book 2 :

« Words like unto the snowflakes of winter. »

There is nothing more in Book 3 to detain us on our study of the simile. And if we continued our investigation through the succeeding books it is doubtful whether we would discover anything new so far as regards the particular angle from which we have mainly approached

the subject until now, namely that of the object to illustrate which the simile is introduced. One further remark however ought to be made, i.e. that the object illustrated is in an active state. A simile such as that in line 477, Book 2 quoted above is rare. Usually the reference is to a warrior in action or a host on the march or to flashing eyes or to a sudden shout.

When however we consider the other side of the comparison we come upon infinite variety and to give an idea of this variety of extraneous objects brought in to diversify the rather limited imagery of war or pastoral life it has seemed well to introduce here a table of the similes of the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey ». The same table will show the variety of objects illustrated which is as we have said much less great. As one of our aims is to discover whether Chateaubriand resembles more the authors of the « Iliad » or the « Odyssey », according as the object he seeks is vividness, with indifference to exactitude, or vividness and exactitude but above all the latter, so another of our objects must be to decide whether Chateaubriand reproduces the Homeric style through the variety of his images, Inasmuch as the « Odyssey » contains far less comparisons, and these in general not so striking as those of the « Iliad », it will be also our purpose to decide which of these two epics « Les Natchez » represents by virtue of the frequent or infrequent occurrence of this ornament. The reader must not be impressed by the number of comparisons in the « Odyssey » — rather large in view of its shorter length as compared with the « Iliad » : the majority of the comparisons will be found on examination to be very brief, mere suggestions of similes.

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

		compared to	
Book 1, line 47. A divinity	night.		
» 104. Eyes	fire		
» 359. A divinity	mist		
Book 2, line 87. An army	bees		
» 144. An army	waves		
» 147. An army	waving corn		
» 209. Shouts of host	breaking wave		
» 394. Shouts of host	»		
» 455. Flash of weapons	fire in forest		
» 459. An army	geese, cranes, swans		
» 468. An army	leaves and flowers		
» 469. An army	fly		
» 474. Marshalling leaders	goatherds		
» 478. A warrior	Zeus, Ares, Poseidon		
» 480. A warrior among warriors	bull amid drove		
» 754. A stream not mingling	oil		
» 764. Horses	birds		
» 780. An army	burning land		
» 781. Earth quaking beneath army	earth quaking about Typhoeus		
Book 3, line 23. Shouts of host	cries of cranes		
» 10. Dust-cloud	mist		
» 23. Exultation of warrior	exultation of lion		
» 33. Recoil of warrior	recoil before serpent		
» 60. Heart	axe		
» 151. Old men	cicadae		
» 196. Warrior	bell-wether		
» 197. Warrior	ram		
» 222. Words	snow-flakes		

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

Book 3, line 300.	Pouring forth of brains	compared to	pouring forth of wine
» 451.	Warrior	»	wild animal
Book 4, line 75.	A divinity	»	shooting star
» 141.	Bloody limbs of warrior	»	ivory purple-stained
» 275.	An army	»	storm-cloud
» 422.	An army	»	wave
» 452.	Shout and struggle of armies	»	winter torrents in a chasm
» 462.	Fall of warrior	»	fall of tower
» 482.	Fall of warrior	»	» a black poplar
Book 5, line 5.	Flash of weapons	»	dogstar
» 87.	Warrior	»	winter torrent
» 136.	Warrior	»	lion
» 161.	Warrior	»	lion
» 476.	Warriors cowering	»	dogs around lion
» 487.	Perils of war	»	meshes of flax
» 499.	Army white with dust	»	growing heaps of chaff
» 522.	Army awaiting onslaught	»	stationary clouds
» 554.	Two warriors	»	lions
» 560.	Fall of warriors	»	fall of pinetrees
» 597.	Recoil of warrior	»	recoil of man who can't swim from river
» 770.	Leap of horses	»	breath of out-look over the sea
» 778.	Divinities	»	doves
» 782.	Warriors	»	lions and wildboars
» 860.	Shout of divinity	»	shout of 9,000 men
» 864.	Divinity	»	mist
» 902.	Congeaing of blood	»	curdling of milk
Book 6, line 146.	Generations of men	»	generations of leaves

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

Book 6, line 506.	Warrior		
» 513.	Flash of weapons	»	stalled horse
Book 7, line 4.	Coming of champions	»	sun
» 63.	Army	»	coming of favorable breeze
» 208.	Warrior	»	ripple on the sea
» 219.	Shield	»	Ares
» 256.	Warriors (two)	»	Tower
Book 8, line 131.	Army driven into city	»	lions and wild boars
» 271.	Warrior under another's shield	»	lambs
» 306.	Drooping head of dying warrior	»	child clinging to mother
» 338.	Warrior	»	poppy
» 355.	Campfires	»	hunting dog
Book 9, line 4.	Doubts of Achaians	»	stars
» 14.	Tears of Agamemnon	»	two winds tossing waves
» 323.	Care of hen for fledglings	»	fountain
Book 10, line 5.	Succession of warriors groans	»	devotion of Achilles to Greeks
» 154.	Flash of weapons	»	succession of snow or rain drops
» 182.	Sentinels	»	lightning
» 297.	Warriors (two)	»	watchdogs
» 369.	Warriors in pursuit	»	lions
» 485.	Warrior	»	hunting dogs
Book 11, line 62.	Warrior in quick notion	»	lion
» 66.	Flash of weapons	»	moon entering and leaving
» 67.	Hostile battlelines	»	clouds
» 72.	Hostile battlelines	»	lightning
» 113.	Warriors unable to save comrade from his adversary	»	two lines of reapers
		»	wolves
		»	hind unable to save young from lion

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

Book 11, line	Warrior	compared to	
129.	Warrior		lion
» 147.	Trunk of beheaded warrior sent rolling	»	mortar
» 155.	Bushes a fire consumes	»	heads falling
» 172.	Warrior	»	lion
» 237.	Spear point bending	»	lead
» 269.	Pains of wounded warrior	»	pains of childbirth
» 292.	Hunter urging on dogs	»	warrior urging on army
» 305.	Fall of warriors	»	rolling of waves
» 324.	Warriors (two)	»	wild boars
» 383.	Army frightened	»	goats before lion
» 414.	Warriors attacking champion	»	hunting dogs
» 474.	Warriors	»	jackals
» 485.	Shield	»	tower
» 492.	Warrior	»	overflowing river
» 546.	Warrior	»	lion watchdogs drive away
» 747.	Warrior	»	tempest
Book 12, line	Warrior		whirlwind
» 40.	Warrior	»	wild boar or lion
» 41.	Warrior	»	oaks unmoved by wind
» 132.	Warriors (two)	»	wildboars
» 146.	Warriors (two)	»	fall of snowflakes
» 156.	Fall of missels	»	wasps defending nest
» 167.	Warriors (two) defending gate	»	fall of snowflakes
» 278.	Fall of missels	»	lion
» 293.	Warrior	»	»
» 299.	Warrior	»	tempest
» 375.	Warriors	»	diver
» 385.	Warrior falling	»	to scales held by spinning woman
» 433.	Battleline holding firm	»	



*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

		compared to	
Book 12, line 463.	Warrior's face		night
Book 13, line 39.	Army	"	fire or squall
" 62.	Divinity	"	falcon
" 102.	Army	"	deer
" 137.	Warrior	"	stone falling
" 178.	Fall of warrior	"	fall of ash-tree
" 198.	Warriors stripping corpse	"	lions snatching goats from dogs
" 242.	Warrior	"	lightning
" 298.	Warriors (two)	"	Ares and Phoebos
" 334.	Battle rout	"	cloud of dust
" 389.	Fall of warrior	"	fall of oak, poplar, pine
" 437.	Warrior unmoved	"	post or tree
" 471.	Warrior awaiting onset	"	wildboar
" 492.	Army following leader	"	sheep about ram joy of shepherd
" 531.	Warrior	"	vulture
" 564.	Spear	"	stake
" 571.	Warrior	"	bull lead away by cowherds
" 654.	Warrior fallen	"	worm
" 673.	Contest	"	fire
" 688.	Warrior	"	flame
" 703.	Warriors (two)	"	oxen
" 754.	Warrior	"	snowy mountain
" 795.	Army	"	tempest at sea
Book 14, line 185.	Veil	"	sun
" 290.	Divinity	"	Bird (unidentified)
" 395.	Shouts of army	"	roar of wave, fire, wind.
" 413.	Whirling of body	"	motion of top

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*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

	compared to	
Book 14, line 414. Fall of warrior		fall of oak struck by lightning
Book 15, line 80. Flight of divinity	"	quickness of thought
" 170. Flight of divinity	"	flight of snowflake
" 237. Flight of divinity	"	" hawk
" 263. Warrior	"	stalled horse
" 323. Warriors fleeing	"	drove of cattle pursued by wild-beasts
" 362. Wall falling	"	sand figures overthrown by children
" 381. Din of warriors	"	wave breaking over boat
" 410. Battle front	"	carpenter's line
" 579. Warrior	"	hunting dog
" 586. Warrior frightened	"	wild beast
" 592. Army	"	lions
" 605. Rage of Warrior	"	Ares or fire
" 618. Army standing firm	"	rock
" 624. Warrior attacking	"	wave breaking over boat
" 630. Warriors in dismay	"	sailors
" 630. Warrior	"	lion
" 679. Warrior	"	circus-rider
" 690. Warrior	"	eagle
Book 16, line 3. Warrior in tears	"	fountain
" 7. Warrior in tears	"	girl who asks to be taken in her mother's arms.
" 156. Warriors	"	wolves
" 213. Series of helmets	"	courses of stones
" 297. Quenching of flames	"	clearing of the Heavens

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

		compared to	
Book 16, line 352. Army			wolves
» 364. Rout		»	cloud
» 384. Panting of horses		»	cloudburst
» 406. Warrior drawing another by spear		»	fisherman
» 423. Shouts of warriors (two)		»	screams of eagles
» 482. Falling of warrior		»	falling of oak, white poplar or pine
» 487. Groans of dying warrior		»	bellowings of dying bull
» 582. Warrior		»	hawk
» 633. Din of battle		»	sound of far off wood chopping
» 641. Crowd about dead warrior		»	swarm of flies about milk pails
» 742. Warrior falling		»	diver
» 752. Warrior		»	lion
» 756. Warriors (two)		»	lions
» 765. Armies in conflict		»	winds striving together
Book 17, line 4. Warrior bestriding corpse			
» 50. Hair		»	mother bestriding calf
» 53. Stripping of warrior		»	graces
» 61. Warriors attacking champion		»	overturning of olive tree
» 88. Warrior		»	dogs surrounding lion
» 109. Warrior retreating		»	flame
» 128. Shield		»	lion retreating
» 133. Warrior bestriding corpse		»	tower
» 263. Shouts of army		»	lion bestridings young
» 281. Warrior		»	wave at mouth of river
» 389. Hawling of body		»	wildboar
» 434. Horses standing motionless		»	stretching of bull's hide
» 460. Warrior		»	tombstone
» 520. Falling of warrior		»	vulture
		»	falling of slain bull

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

		compared to	
Book 17, line 542. Warrior			lion
» » 547. Divinity		»	rainbow
» » 658. Warrior		»	lion
» » 674. Vision of warrior		»	vision of eagle
Book 18, line 56. Growth of youth		»	growth of young plant
» » 57. Growth of youth		»	» »
» » 110. Anger		»	smoke
» » 154. Warrior		»	flame
» » 161. Warriors unable to drive away champion		»	shepherds unable to drive away lion
» » 207. Gleam about warrior's head		»	beacon lit by men besieged on island
» » 219. Shout of warrior		»	call of trumpet
» » 318. Lament of warrior over comrade		»	lament of lion who has lost his young
» » 437. Growth of youth		»	growth of young plant
» » 438. Growth of youth		»	» »
» » 539. Carven images on shield		»	real men
» » 600. Deftness of dancers		»	revolving of potter's wheel
» » 610. Divinity		»	falcon
Book 19, line 17. Eyes of warrior		»	flame
» » 350. Divinity		»	falcon
» » 357. Series of helmets		»	succession of snowflakes
» » 374. Flash of shield		»	light of moon
» » 375. Flash of shield		»	light in mountains appearing to sailors
» » 398. Warrior		»	Hyperion

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

		compared to	
Book 20, line 164.	Warrior		lion
» 200.	Warrior	»	child
» 244.	Warriors	»	children
» 252.	Warriors wrangling	»	women wrangling
» 423.	Warrior	»	flame
» 420.	Furious progress of warrior	»	spread of fire in wood
» 495.	Horses treading corpses	»	oxen treading barley
Book 21, line 12.	Warriors driven to river		locusts driven there by fire
» 18.	Warrior	»	divinity
» 22.	Warriors crouching in river before champion	»	fish fleeing from dolphin
» 29.	Warriors dragged from river	»	fawns
» 227.	Warrior	»	divinity
» 237.	Shout of warrior	»	roaring of bull
» 257.	Wave overtaking warrior	»	water in conduit escaping man who digs it
» 282.	Warrior	»	swineherd drowned in winter-torrent
» 346.	Drying of land	»	drying of threshing floor
» 362.	Seething of fluid	»	seething of kettle
» 464.	Generations of men	»	leaves
» 493.	Divinity	»	dove
» 522.	Havoc wrought by hero	»	ruin made by fire in burning city
Book 22, line 1.	Warriors		fawns
» 22.	Warrior	»	racine-horse
» 26.	Warrior	»	dog-star
» 93.	Warrior	»	serpent
» 125.	Warrior	»	woman
» 132.	Warrior	»	Ares

*Comparisons of the « Iliad »*

	compared to	
Book 22, line 134. Flash of weapon	fire or sun	
» » 139. Flight of one champion before another	flight of dove before kite	
Book 23, line 100. Spirit of Patroklos	a vapour	
» » 222. Father at pyre of son	Achilles at pyre of Patroklos	
» » 365. Dust	cloud	
» » 597. Gladness of the heart	dew upon the ears of corn	
» » 692. Over throw of boxer	hurling of fish on beach	
» » 711. Wrestlers	rafters joined to gether	
Book 24, line 41. Temper of Achilles	that of a lion	
» » 80. Iris diving into the sea	lead on fishing line	
» » 480. Wonder of Achilles beholding Priam	wonder of men beholding fugitive murderer	
» » 572. Achilles leaping into court	lion	
» » 758. Dead Hector	one slain by Apollo.	

TOTAL : 248.

*Comparisons of the « Odyssey »*

	compared to	
Book 1, line 320. Departure of Athena	flight of bird	
Book 2, line 5. Telemachus	god	
Book 3, line 73. Telemachus and his companions	pirates (in query)	
» » 290. Waves	mountains	
» » 468. Telemachus	immortals	
Book 4, line 45. Splendor of Menelaos' palace	gleam of sun or moon	
» » 74. Splendor of Menelaos' palace	court of Zeus	
» » 121. Helen	Artemis	
» » 310. Menelaos	god	
» » 335. Vengeance of Odysseus on suitors	slaughter of fawns who have been reared in lion's den	

*Comparisons of the « Odyssey »*

		compared to	
Book 4, line 413.	Proteus among seals		shepherd among sheep
» 535.	Murder of Agamemnon	»	slaughter of bull
» 791.	Anxiety of Penelope	»	fear of lion surrounded by foes
Book 5, line 51.	Hermes	»	gull
» 251.	Odysseus building raft	»	man rounding ship's keel
» 280.	Scheria	»	shield
» 328.	Raft tossed by winds	»	thistle-tufts borne by winds
» 353.	Leucothea	»	gull
» 368.	Raft timbers tossed by waves	»	heaps of straw scattered by wind
» 371.	Timber ridden by Odysseus	»	horse
» 394.	Joy of Odysseus at sight of land	»	joy of children at seeing father re- cover health
» 432.	Bits of skin stripped from Odysseus' hands by rocks	»	pebbles clinging to suckers of cutt- lefish
Book 6, line 20.	Athena	»	wind
» 102.	Nausicaa amid maidens	»	Artemis amid nymphs
» 130.	Odysseus	»	lion
» 231.	Hair of Odysseus	»	hyacinth
» 232.	Athena transforming Odysseus	»	artisan plating gold on silver
Book 7, line 5.	Brothers of Nausicaa	»	gods
» 36.	Ships of Phaeacians	»	bird or thought
» 84.	Splendor of Alcinous' palace	»	gleam of sun or moon
» 106.	Maidens weaving	»	leaves of black poplar
» 291.	Nausicaa	»	goddesses
Book 8, line 517.	Odysseus	»	Ares
» 523.	Odysseus weeping at the Story of the Wooden Horse	»	Captive woman weeping over dead husband

*Comparisons of the « Odyssey »*

Book	9, line	51. Hordes of Cicones	compared to	
»	»	191. Cyclops	»	leaves and flower in spring
»	»	289. Greeks seized by Cyclops	»	peak
»	»	292. Cyclops devouring Greeks	»	whelps
»	»	314. Boulder closing cavern	»	lion
»	»	322. Club of Cyclops	»	lid of quiver
»	»	384. Stake driven into Cyclops' eye	»	mast of merchant ship
»	»	391. Crackling of Cyclop's eye	»	auger boring timber of ship
»	»	113. Woman (wife of Antiphatas)	»	hissing of water about red-hot axe
Book 10, line	120. Men		»	peak
»	»	124. Greeks speared by Laestrygonians	»	giants
»	»	216. Wolves and lions of Circe about Greeks	»	fish
»	»	410. Companions about Odysseus	»	hounds about master
»	»	416. Their joy at seeing Odysseus	»	calves about mothers
»	»	207. Ghost of Anticleia	»	joy at homecoming
Book 11, line	222. Spirit of dead		»	shadow or dream
»	»	243. Wave	»	dream
»	»	368. Odysseus telling his story	»	mountain
»	»	605. Clamor of dead	»	bard
»	»	606. Herakles	»	clamor of birds
»	»	608. Herakles	»	night
»	»	86. Voice of Scylla	»	archer
Book 12, line	237. Seething of Charybdis		»	voice of new-born whelp
»	»	251. Greeks cast ashore	»	seething of cauldron
»	»	413. Pilot falling from deck	»	fish cast ashore by fisherman
»	»	418. Drowning Greeks	»	diver
»	»	31. Joy of Odysseus on seeing the sun set the eve of his return	»	sea-crows
Book 13, line			»	joy of ploughman at set of sun



*Comparisons of the « Odyssey »*

		compared to	
Book 13, line 79. Sleep			death
» » 81. Ship springing forward		»	chariot
» » 21. Watchdogs		»	wildbeasts
Book 14, line 156. Hatred of liar		»	hatred of hell
» » 175. Telemachus		»	young plant
» » 254. Voyage over sea		»	voyage on stream
» » 308. Drowning men		»	sea-crows
» » 476. Snow		»	hoar-frost
Book 15, line 108. Robe		»	star
» » 174. Odysseus avenging suitors		»	eagle seizing goose (interpreta- tion of omen)
» » 479. Woman falling into hold		»	sea-gull
Book 16, line 17. Swineherd greeting Telemachus		»	father greeting son
» » 21. Telemachus' return from voyage		»	escape from death
» » 216. Odysseus and his son weeping		»	birds grieving at loss of young
Book 17, line 111. Nestor's welcome of Telemachus		»	father's welcoming of son
» » 136. Vengeance of Odysseus on suitors		»	slaughter of fawns who have been reared in lion's den
» » 463. Odysseus		»	rock
» » 518. Swineherd absorbed in words of Odysseus		»	listener intent on words of minstrel
Book 18, line 26. Odysseus		»	kitchen-wife
» » 29. Odysseus		»	swine
» » 240. Iros		»	drunkenman
» » 290. Necklace		»	sun
Book 19, line 54. Penelope		»	Artemis or Aphrodite
» » 205. Tears of Penelope		»	snow on mountains
» » 211. Eyes of Odysseus unmoved		»	wax or iron

*Comparisons of the « Odyssey »*

		compared to	
Book 19, line 232.	Sheen of Odysseus' tunic		sheen on wild onion skin
» 234.	Odysseus' tunic	»	sun
» 494.	Eurycleia	»	stone or iron
» 518.	Anxiety of Penelope	»	changing song of nightingale
» 574.	Axes of Odysseus	»	cross-timbers of ship
Book 20, line 14.	Anger in Odysseus' heart	»	bitch protecting young
» 25.	Impatience of Odysseus planning revenge	»	impatience of man to eat food he roasts
» 66.	Penelope (in her prayer) carried away by the winds	»	daughters of Pandareus
Book 21, line 48.	Clashing of door	»	bellowing of bull
» 406.	Odysseus stringing bow	»	man stringing lyre
» 411.	Sound of bow-string	»	call of swallow
Book 22, line 299.	Suitors fleeing	»	herd of cattle driven by gadflies
» 302.	Odysseus and companions pursuing suitors	»	vultures pursuing smaller birds
» 384.	Dead suitors lying in heap	»	fishes dragged in net to the beach
» 402.	Odysseus stained with blood of suitors	»	lion stained with gore of ox he has devoured
» 468.	Womenservants strung up by Telemachus	»	thrushes or doves caught in snares
Book 23, line 159.	Athena transforming Odysseus	»	artisan plating gold on silver
» 163.	Odysseus coming from bath	»	gods
» 191.	Girth of olive-bush	»	girth of column
» 233.	Joy of Penelope on recovering Odysseus	»	joy of shipwrecked sailors on reaching land
Book 24, line 6.	Gibbering spirits of dead	»	bats gibbering
» 148.	Robe woven by Penelope	»	sun or moon
» 538.	Odysseus attacking foes	»	eagle
TOTAL : 109.			

We have already had occasion in the course of this present study to consider a few of Chateaubriand's similes. One in particular attracted our attention, that of the two crocodiles in conflict with each other, at the end of Book 2 of « *Les Natchez* », and our decision regarding it was that the two animals were of too ignoble a species to be introduced fittingly in a comparison intended to illustrate a combat of warriors, for one of whom at least, the reader felt some sympathy. In Homer, we remarked, the comparison in such a case is always to a nobler species, to the lion or the tiger or the horse or the boar or the wolf, none of them essentially repulsive. It must be said there are few of Chateaubriand's similes which we would reject as unHomeric on the ground of want of nobility. We must choose another basis, one already hinted at in the course of our examination of Homer's practice in the use of the comparison, namely, the circumstances under which they are introduced.

It has been said already that Homer's comparisons appear in moments of stress, either mental or physical, that is, in the height of battle, or in the hurry of preparation or, occasionally, to illustrate the sudden doubt or confusion or joy or sorrow of a character. Poetic images, therefore, arising at less intense moments, or when the leisurely flow of the narrative is scarcely disturbed, would not be Homeric. Such ornaments, though it may not always be the case, are wont to be the playthings of an idle fancy, and owe their birth purely to its inoccupation with more serious pursuits. It is the superabundance of such ornaments that clogs the progress of many otherwise notable narrative poems, such as Marlowe's « *Hero and Leander* » or Swinburne's « *Tristram of Lyonesse* ». How has Chateaubriand conducted himself in this particular? Nothing perhaps will better qualify an author's style and show us whether really his style is tense and rapid or over-decorated and languorous. Let us examine a number of Chateaubriand's comparisons with this distinction in mind.

There is not enough stress to warrant either of the first two comparisons of « *Les Natchez* » (page 189, Garnier, Edition) :

« Ça et là erroient des Indiennes, aussi légères que les biches avec lesquelles elles bondissaient.

Les femmes s'arrêtaient à quelque distance pour voir passer les étrangers, et puis s'enfuyaient vers les bois : ainsi des colombes regardent le chasseur du haut d'une roche élevée, et s'envolent à son approche. »

Céluta's entrance into the hut (page 190) is all too quiet to call forth a comparison, from the Homeric point of view :

« Telle parut Héro aux fêtes d'Abydos ; telle Vénus se fit connaître dans les bois de Carthage, à sa démarche et à l'odeur d'ambrosie qu'exhalait sa chevelure. »

Nausicaa in Book 6 of the « *Odyssey* » is compared to the goddess Artemis, but the likeness is between the maiden at play and the goddess sporting among her nymphs : there is stress enough for the comparison.

« And even as Artemis, the archer, roves over the mountains, along the ridges of lofty Taygetus or Erymanthus, joying in the pursuit of boars and swift deer, and with her sport the wood-nymphs, the daughters of Zeus who bears the aegis, and Leto is glad at heart-high above them all Artemis holds her head and brows, and easily may she be known, though all are fair—so amid her handmaidens shown the maid unwed. »

Such a picture of domestic life as the following might well be introduced into a passage of Homer, but there would have to be more occasion for it than is found in the passage given herewith :

« C'était l'heure où les fleurs de l'hibiscus commencent à s'entr'ouvrir dans les savanes, et où les tortues du fleuve viennent déposer leurs œufs dans les sables. Les étrangers avaient déjà passé sur la place des jeux tout le temps qu'un enfant indien met à parcourir une cabane, quand, pour essayer sa marche, sa mère lui présente la mamelle et se retire en souriant devant lui. »

Under what circumstances scenes of tenderness are

introduced by Homer will be seen from the following passages :

« And ninth came Teukros, stretching his backbent bow, and took his stand beneath the shield of Aias, son of Telamon. And so Aias would stealthily withdraw the shield, and Teukros would spy his chance ; and when he had shot and smitten one in the throng, then fell such an one and gave up the ghost, and Teukros would return, and as a child beneath his mother, so gat he him to Aias, who hid him with the shining shield. »

Here we have but a suggestion of maternal tenderness, but the picture is more fully drawn in the following simile of Achilles addressing Patroklos in tears because his comrade refrains from battle :

« Wherefore weepst thou, Patroklos, like a fond little maid, that runs by her mother's side, and bids her mother take her up, snatching at her gown, and hinders her in her going, and tearfully looks at her, till the mother takes her up ? like her, Patroklos, dost thou let fall soft tears. »

Book 9 of the « Iliad », lines 323-327, affords us still another picture of tenderness, also on the lips of Achilles, at the beginning of what swells into a wrathful refusal to accept reconciliation with Agamemnon :

« Even as a hen bringeth her unfledged chickens each morsel as she winneth it, and with herself it goeth hard even so I was wont to watch out many a sleepless night and pass through many bloody days of battle, warring with folk for their women's sake. »

It is clear from the above that in the « Iliad » at least a comparison picturing the gentler side of life usually appears in a context of quite different a character. The stimulus that brings it forward can hardly be called one of the gentler feelings. In the « Odyssey » the contrast is perhaps sometimes less striking, but the same principle obtains : a simile is not often introduced except in a moment of quickened interest. An instance may be chosen from Book 16, line 216, where Telemachus recognizes his father :

« And they wailed aloud more vehemently than birds, sea-eagles or vultures with crooked talons, whose young the country-folk have taken from their nest before they

were fledged ; even so piteously did they let tears fall from beneath their brows. »

The slower movement of the « *Odyssey* » might have led the authors of the various parts to enliven their narratives with poetical ornaments, but it is interesting to observe that the places where the narrative is dullest (the first three books, for instance) are precisely those where the comparison is most infrequent : there are only six in the first three books. The same principle governs the less lively and the more lively of the Homeric poems : poetic comparisons must appear at a moment of stress. It is not true that every moment of stress is enlivened with images, or that the books most crowded with action are those most thronging with comparisons. All the present argument tends to prove is that the Homeric comparison, when it does appear, appears in a moment of action. It has not been thought worth while to note the exceptions to this rule, they may be observed by consulting the lists of comparisons already given. It will be found that those that do occur are the most colorless of Homer's comparisons, mere stock comparisons, used by the less distinctive of the collaborators in the Homeric poems.

If we continue our examination of « *Les Natchez* », we shall discover before long that whatever the divergences between Homeric practice and that of Chateaubriand in general, the practice of the latter, in this particular, is not unlike that of the father of epic poetry. On very few occasions can we say that Chateaubriand lacked provocation in introducing a comparison, they are, most of them, associated with moments of intense action or emotion. The flood of comparisons at the end of Book I, quoted already in part in our study of various situations in the epic, is wholly Homeric. Some of them remind us of the « *Odyssey* » by the exactness of the parallel between the object introduced and that described and many of them recall the « *Iliad* » by the movement and vigor that inspires them. From the point of view of exact parallel what could better suggest the changing manœuvres of an army than the following image :

« *Leurs capitaines font prendre aux bataillons toutes les figures d'Uranie : ainsi des enfants étendent des soies*

légères sur leurs doigts légers : sans confondre ou briser le dédale fragile, ils le déploient en étoile, le dessinent en croix, le ferment en cercle et l'entr'ouvrent doucement sous la forme d'un berceau. »

Here again we have the suggestion of gentleness in the midst of martial scenes, but we have noted that such a contrast, or such a fondness for the gentler side of life is not unHomeric.

We could go on, book after book, and though now and then the comparison would seem unmotivated, in general we could justify Chateaubriand's taste. There is, however, another angle from which we must approach his comparisons in order to see if they are conceived in the Homeric spirit, namely, whether they illustrate an action or a mental state. We have seen that those which illustrate a mental state are few and occur chiefly in the « *Odyssey* ». Only one comparison of Book 1 is of this type, describing Chépars' absorption in the soldier's art (Page 198) :

« Né sous la tente des Luxembourg et des Catinat, le vieux capitaine ne voyait la société que dans les armes ; le monde pour lui était un camp. Inutilement il avait traversé les mers, sa vue restait circonscrite au cercle qu'elle avait jadis embrassé, et l'Amérique sauvage ne reproduisait à ses yeux que l'Europe civilisée : ainsi le ver laborieux, qui ourdit la plus belle trame, ne connaît cependant que sa voûte d'or, et ne peut étendre ses regards sur la nature. »

This image is of course un-Homeric in that it describes a phase of character, not a transient emotion.

In Book 2 we find several comparisons illustrating emotions. One in particular, occurring in the final paragraph of the book, should arrest our attention :

« Lorsque l'automne a mûri les vergers, on voit des hommes agrestes, montés sur l'arbre cher à la Neustrie abattre avec de longues perches la pomme vermeille, tandis que les jeunes filles et les jeunes laboureurs ramassent pêle-mêle dans une corbeille les fruits dont le

jus trouble la raison : ainsi les anges du mal jettent ensemble leurs dons enivrants dans le sein d'Ondouré. »

The ample picture of the scene of harvest time is such a picture as Homer might have traced ; none so loved as he to depict the occupations of farmers. But such a charming picture would not have been turned to such an ignoble usage. There is an inherent nobility in every object or emotion which Homer seeks to illustrate ; even when he speaks of wrath it is of an emotion that he approves. There are no instances of a comparison introduced to illustrate an emotion that is essentially evil. No light is thrown on the feelings of the suitors in the « *Odyssey* » by means of the device now under consideration. As the comparison of the crocodiles was too ignoble to illustrate a Homeric contest, so here the emotion is too ignoble to be susceptible of illustration.

Both the emotion and the action of the following simile are subject to the same criticism (page 207) ;

« Comme un pavot frappé des rayons du soleil se penche vers la terre et laisse échapper de sa tige les gouttes amères du sommeil, ainsi la femme jalouse, dévorée par les feux de l'amour, baisse son front, dont la mort semble épancher des sueurs glacées. »

With the two preceding we should contrast another comparison, truly Homeric in spirit, found on the same page of Book 2 as the one just quoted :

« La confusion règne dans l'assemblée ; une épaisse fumée, répandue par les esprits du mal, remplit la salle de ténèbres ; on entend les cris des matrones, les mouvements des guerriers, la voix des vieillards. Ainsi dans un atelier, des ouvriers préparent les laines d'Albion ou de l'Ibérie ; ceux-ci battent les toisons poudreuses, ceux-là les transforment en de merveilleux tissus ; plusieurs les plongent dans la pourpre de Tyr ou dans l'azur de l'Indostan : mais si quelque main mal assurée vient à répandre sur la flamme la liqueur de ces cuves brûlantes, une vapeur s'élève avec



un sifflement dans les salles, et des clameurs sortent de de cette soudaine nuit ».

The reference to the arts, the identity of the thing illustrated with the illustration, the parallelism of form at the same time that there is a suggestion of emotion, make us think of Homer and particularly of the « *Odyssey* ».

In Book 3 (page 215), we find another comparison which like that of the silkworm already cited portrays a phase of character and is therefore not sudden and vivid enough to be called Homeric. Chateaubriand is dwelling on the likeness between Céluta and her brother :

« Égale candeur, égale simplicité, sortait de leurs cœurs par leurs bouches : tels, sur un même tronc, dans une vallée du nouveau-Monde, croissent deux érables de sexe différent ; et cependant le chasseur qui les voit du haut de la colline les reconnaît pour frère et sœur à leur air de famille et au langage que leur fait parler la brise du désert. »

In a like manner the character of d'Artaguet is portrayed on page 221 of the same book :

« C'est ainsi qu'en aimant les sauvages il se trouva toute sa vie engagé contre eux : tel un fleuve plein d'abondance et de limpidité, mais dont le cours n'est pas assez rapide, tourne à chaque pas dans la plaine ; repoussé par les moindres obstacles, il est sans cesse obligé de remonter contre le penchant de son onde. »

The scene of Book 4 is in Heaven and as would be expected similes are wanting amid such abstract and vague surroundings. They are wanting too in the  *récit*  of Chactas. Perhaps only one comparison in these four books (5-8) may be properly called striking (page 245). It will be seen that the occasion of its introduction is not such as would motivate it in Homer.

« Comme une veuve indienne pleine d'équité met dans ses balances le reste de richesses de son époux et l'objet offert en échange par l'Européen : elle égalise les deux poids dans toute la sincérité de son cœur, ne voulant ni

side took thought of ruinous flight : and equal heads had the battle. »

It is evident from the above that Chateaubriand did not exceed Homeric restraint when he introduced his parallel of the winnowing-floor. But we find even better justification at the end of Book 20 of the « Iliad », lines 495-502 :

« For even as when one yoketh wide-browed bulls to tread white harley in a stablished threshing-floor, and quickly is it trodden out beneath the feet of the loudhowling bulls, thus beneath great-hearted Achilles his wholehooved horses trampled corpses and shields together ; and with blood all the axle-tree below was sprinkled and the rims that ran around the car, for blood-drops from the horses' hooves splashed them, and blood-drops from the tires of the wheels. »

Here for the first time we find an imitation of Homer's language, and spirit and action are both such as we would find in the « Iliad ».

One more comparison perhaps merits quotation, in illustration of the remark already made, that Chateaubriand is sometimes too emphatic in his desire to intensify his pictures : to show how the French toiled to dispose of their dead on the field of battle he introduces the following simile of the beavers constructing a dam :

« De paisibles castors, dans des vallons solitaires, s'empressent à finir un commun ouvrage : les uns scient les boulaux et les abattent sur le courant d'une onde, afin d'en former une digue ; les autres tirent sur leur queue les matériaux destinés aux architectes ; les palais de la Venise du désert s'élèvent ; des artisans de luxe en tapissent les planchers avec une fraîche verdure et préparent les salles du bain, tandis que des constructeurs bâtissent plus loin, au bord du lac, les agréables châteaux de la campagne. Cependant de vieux castors pleins d'expérience dirigent les travaux de la république, font préparer les magasins de vivres, placent des sentinelles avancées pour la sûreté du peuple, récompensent les citoyens diligents et exilent

les paresseux : ainsi l'on voyait travailler les Français sur le champ des combats. »

Surely, rather than enforcing the impression of gloom after battle, this picture carries us far away : neither literally nor emotionally is there any harmony between the two scenes.

Occasionally Chateaubriand wins our attention by the nicety of a simile. « Tansou — se sépare en deux comme un épi rompu par la main d'un enfant. » (Book 10, page 310)

« La hache du sachem, atteignant Adémar au visage, lui enleva une partie du front, du nez et des lèvres. Le soldat reste quelque temps debout, objet affreux, au milieu de ses compagnons épouvantés ; tel se montre un bouleau dont les sauvages ont enlevé l'écorce au printemps ; le tronc mis à nu et teint d'une sève rougie se fait apercevoir de loin parmi les arbres de la forêt. » (Book 10, page 308).

Here, as in the « Odyssey », attention is paid to making the parallel exact, and as a result one sees more clearly the visual affect which the author is striving to produce.

It is now time to recapitulate our conclusions regarding the similes of Chateaubriand. We have found only one instance where his comparison seemed to be drawn from Homer and even there the scene was developed far more fully than in Homer and in a way to make the contrast between the threshing-floor and the battlefield more gruesome. There are no children playing in Homer's picture. Our first complaint with Chateaubriand, then, is that his comparisons are not always appropriate : he seems desirous of making a striking picture regardless of whether or not he fails in heightening the effect of the scene which it is introduced to illustrate. Our second criticism is that many of the comparisons are too elaborate : they make us forget the action of the story. With these reserves, it cannot be said that Chateaubriand wholly misunderstands the function of the comparison. He introduces it most often at a point when the action is tense enough to support such an ornament and in the scenes where it would be least appropriate he leaves it out almost entirely, i.e. in the *récit* of Chactas. In general he strives

« Cette reconnaissance d'Ulysse et de Pénélope est peut-être une des plus belles compositions du génie antique. Pénélope assise en silence, Ulysse immobile au pied d'une colonne, la scène éclairée à la flamme du foyer : voilà d'abord un tableau tout fait pour un peintre, et où la grandeur égale la simplicité du dessin. Et comment se fera la reconnaissance ? Par une circonstance rappelée du lit nuptial ! C'est encore une autre merveille que ce lit fait de la main d'un roi sur le tronc d'un olivier, arbre de paix et de sagesse, digne d'être le fondement de cette couche qu'aucun autre homme n'a visitée. Les transports qui suivent la reconnaissance des deux époux ; cette comparaison si touchante d'une veuve qui retrouve son époux à un matelot qui découvre la terre au moment du naufrage ; le couple conduit au flambeau dans son appartement ; les plaisirs de l'amour suivis des joies de la douleur ou de la confiance des peines passées ; la double volupté du bonheur présent et du malheur en souvenir ; le sommeil qui vient par degrés fermer les yeux et la bouche d'Ulysse, tandis qu'il raconte ses aventures à Pénélope attentive, ce sont autant de traits du grand maître ; on ne les saurait trop admirer.

« Il y aurait une étude intéressante à faire : ce serait de tâcher de découvrir comment un auteur moderne aurait rendu tel morceau des ouvrages d'un auteur ancien. Dans le tableau précédent, par exemple, on peut soupçonner que la scène, au lieu de se passer en action entre Ulysse et Pénélope, eût été racontée par le poète. Il n'aurait pas manqué de semer son récit de réflexions philosophiques, de vers frappants, de mots heureux. Au lieu de cette manière brillante et laborieuse, Homère vous présente deux époux qui se retrouvent après vingt ans d'absence, et qui, sans jeter de grands cris, ont l'air de s'être à peine quittés de la veille. Où est donc la beauté de la peinture ? Par la vérité.

« Les modernes sont en général plus savants, plus délicats, plus déliés, souvent même plus intéressants dans leurs compositions que les anciens ; mais ceux-ci sont plus simples, plus augustes, plus tragiques, plus abondants et surtout plus vrais que les modernes. Ils ont un goût plus sûr, une imagination plus noble : ils ne savent travailler

que l'ensemble et négligent les ornements ; un berger qui se plaint, un vieillard qui raconte, un héros qui combat, voilà pour eux tout un poème ; et l'on ne sait pas comment il arrive que ce poème, où il n'y a rien, est cependant mieux rempli que nos romans chargés d'incidents et de personnages. L'art d'écrire semble avoir suivi l'art de la peinture ; la palette du poète moderne se couvre d'une variété infinie de teintes et de nuances ; le poète antique compose ses tableaux avec les trois couleurs de Polygnote ».

It is doubtful whether warmer praise, and more just, was ever accorded Homer by any author. As Chateaubriand's examples seem ill chosen for his thesis, it being hard for us to see wherein the pale loves of Adam and Eve are superior to those of Ulysses and Penelope, so his remarks are ill-fitted to serve his purpose. Homer kindles him to far greater eloquence than Milton.

If Chateaubriand shows himself appreciative of the conjugal relations of Ulysses and Penelope, he is equally appreciative of the pathos of Priam. He gives, in translation, Priam's plea before Achilles for the body of Hector, his son (Book 24, line 486).

« Souvenez-vous de votre père, ô Achille, semblable aux dieux. Il est courbé, comme moi, sous le poids des années, et comme moi il touche au dernier terme de la vieillesse. Peut-être en ce moment même est-il accablé par de puissants voisins, sans avoir auprès de lui personne pour le défendre. Et cependant, lorsqu'il apprend que vous vivez, il se réjouit dans son cœur ; chaque jour il espère voir son fils de retour de Troie. Mais moi, le plus infortuné des pères, de tant de fils que je comptais dans la grande Ilion, je ne crois pas qu'un seul me soit resté. J'en avais cinquante quand les Grecs descendirent sur ces rivages.

« Dix-neuf étaient sortis des mêmes entrailles, différentes captives m'avaient donné les autres ; la plupart ont fléchi sous le cruel Mars. Il y en avait un qui, seul, défendait ses frères et Troie. Vous venez de le tuer, combattant pour sa patrie. Hector, c'est pour lui que je viens à la flotte de Grèce ; je viens racheter son corps, et je vous apporte une immense rançon. Respectez les dieux, ô Achille ! Ayez pitié de moi : souvenez-vous de votre père. O

combien je suis malheureux ! mal infortuné n'a jamais été réduit à cet excès de misère : je baise les mains qui ont tué mes fils ! »

The comment of Chateaubriand on the preceding scene is as worthy of quotation as his comment on the recognition scene from the « *Odyssey* » already given :

« Que de beautés dans cette prière ! quelle scène étalée aux yeux du lecteur ! la nuit, la tente d'Achille, ce héros pleurant Patrocle auprès du fidèle Automedon, Priam apparaissant au milieu des ombres et se précipitant aux pieds du fils de Pélée ! Là sont arrêtés, dans les ténèbres, les chars qui apportent les présents du souverain de Troie ; et à quelque distance les restes défigurés du généreux Hector sont abandonnés, sans honneur, sur le rivage de l'Hellespont.

« Étudiez le discours de Priam : vous verrez que le second mot prononcé par l'infortuné monarque est celui de père... ; la seconde pensée, dans le même vers, est un éloge pour l'orgueilleux Achille,... Achille semblable aux dieux. Priam doit se faire une grande violence pour parler ainsi au meurtrier d'Hector, il y a une profonde connaissance du cœur humain dans tout cela.

« Le souvenir le plus tendre que l'on pût offrir au fils de Pélée, après lui avoir rappelé son père, était sans doute l'âge de ce même père. Jusque-là Priam n'a pas encore osé dire un mot de lui-même ; mais soudain se présente un rapport qu'il saisit avec une simplicité touchante : « Comme moi, dit-il, il touche au dernier terme de la vieillesse. » Ainsi Priam ne parle encore de lui qu'en se confondant avec Pélée ; il force Achille à ne voir que son propre père dans un roi suppliant et malheureux. L'image du délaissement du vieux monarque « peut-être accablé par de puissants voisins » pendant l'absence de son fils, la peinture de ses chagrins soudainement oubliés lorsqu'il apprend que ce fils est « plein de vie », enfin cette comparaison des peines passagères de Pélée avec les maux irréparables de Priam, offrent un mélange admirable de douleur, d'adresse, de bienséance et de dignité.

« Avec quelle respectable et sainte habilité le vieillard

d'Iliou n'amène-t-il pas ensuite le superbe Achille jusqu'à écouter paisiblement l'éloge même d'Hector ! D'abord il se garde bien de nommer le héros troyen ; il dit seulement : « il y en avait un » ; il ne nomme Hector à son vainqueur qu'après lui avoir dit qu'il l'a tué combattant pour la patrie : il ajoute alors le simple mot « Hector »,... Il est remarquable que ce mot isolé n'est pas même compris dans la période poétique ; il est rejeté au commencement d'un vers, où il coupe la mesure, suspend l'esprit et l'oreille, forme un sens complet ; il ne tient en rien à ce qui suit :

(It may be said here apropos of the position of « Hector » that Chateaubriand makes too much of a common artifice of Homer. A proper name will be found in a like suspended position in lines 61, 353 and 461 of the same book.)

« Ainsi le fils de Pélée se souvient de sa vengeance avant de se rappeler son ennemi. Si Priam eût d'abord nommé Hector, Achille eût songé à Patrocle, mais ce n'est plus Hector qu'on lui présente, c'est un cadavre déchiré, ce sont de misérables restes livrés aux chiens et aux vautours ; encore ne les lui montre-t-on qu'avec une excuse : « Il combattait pour la patrie ».... L'orgueil d'Achille est satisfait d'avoir triomphé d'un héros qui seul défendait ses frères et les murs de Troie.

« Enfin Priam, après avoir parlé des hommes au fils de Thetis lui rappelle les justes dieux, et il le ramène une dernière fois au souvenir de Pélée. Le trait qui termine la prière du monarque d'Iliou est du plus haut sublime dans le genre pathétique. »

If Chateaubriand had written with the same understanding of the other Homeric characters whom he chooses as types of the various human relationships, we should have no complaint. Unfortunately his appreciative mood now ends and his treatment of Andromache, the mother, Achilles the son, and the warriors of Homer in general is most inadequate. In writing of the latter he departs from the method he has employed till now, that of commenting upon a representative passage, and indulges in vague generalities (chapters 11 and 12 of Book 2). His

treatment of the son, Achilles, is almost as arbitrary ; except for a few words his chapter on the son, chapter 7, is devoted wholly to the character of Guzman. Not a word of the tender and the trusting, truly childlike attitude of Achilles, otherwise so proud and vengeful, to his goddess mother. This is the more surprising when we realize that in this phase of his character Achilles comes nearer to being the *beau idéal* of the romanticists than any other personage in Homer, this youth who broods upon the shortness of his life (Book 18, line 70 and following) and who sulks in his tent in proud isolation. To be sure, this is the relationship of a mortal to a divinity and hence it is excluded from any parallel between a mortal parent and child (human as both of them in reality are) but in any case here is a side of Achilles which Chateaubriand owed it to his impartiality to recall.

Our greatest disappointment comes in reading the passage devoted to Andromache. Here is another of those scenes of natural feeling such as Chateaubriand had done justice to in treating the passages from the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey » referred to above. It almost seems as if he realized that he had been too generous to pagan literature and feared now to present too fully too evident beauties. « L'Andromaque de l'Iliade is « plus épouse que mère »..... L'Andromaque de Racine est plus sensible, plus intéressante que l'Andromaque antique... L'Andromaque d'Homère gémit sur les malheurs futurs d'Astyanax, mais elle songe à peine à lui dans le présent... Hector ne conseille point à son fils d'avoir de ses aïeux un souvenir modeste ; en élevant Astyanax vers le ciel, il s'écrie :

« O Jupiter, et vous tous, dieux de l'Olympe, que mon fils règne comme moi sur Ilion ; faites qu'il obtienne l'empire entre les guerriers, qu'en le voyant revenir chargé des dépouilles de l'ennemi, on s'écrie : « Celui-ci est encore plus vaillant que son père ! »

(To us, a hundred years and more after Chateaubriand, this prayer of Hector's seems as natural, as well-placed, as any of the remarks in the scenes which Chateaubriand praised earlier : it seems to have been otherwise in the days of the Catholic Revival.)

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« Quand la veuve d'Hector, dans l'*Iliade*, se représente la destinée qui attend son fils, la peinture qu'elle fait de la future misère d'Astyanax a quelque chose de bas et de honteux ; l'humilité, dans notre religion, est bien loin d'avoir un pareil langage : elle est aussi noble qu'elle est touchante. »

It has been said above that the chapters on the warrior are a mosaic of generalities. The references to Homer among them are few and deserve to be produced here in order that the reader may see how wanting this portion of Chateaubriand's study of Homeric characters is : « La barbarie et le polythéisme ont produit les héros d'Homère... en faisant abstraction du génie particulier des deux poètes et ne comparant qu'homme à homme, il nous semble que les personnages de Jérusalem (his whole point here is to exalt chivalry to the disadvantage of both modern and ancient times) sont supérieurs à ceux de l'*Iliade*... Quelle différence, en effet, entre les chevaliers si francs, si désintéressés, si humains, et des guerriers perfides, avares, cruels, insultant aux cadavres de leurs ennemis, poétiques enfin par leurs vices, comme les premiers par leurs vertus... Cette haute valeur est devenue si commune que le moindre de nos fantassins est plus courageux que les Ajax, qui fuyaient devant Hector, qui fuyait à son tour devant Achille. »

As we have already suggested, the inconsistency in this latter half of Chateaubriand's study of Homeric characters lies in the fact that at the beginning he was ready to accept Homer as a painter of human nature and judge him solely from that point of view. Had he kept that point of view he would have been obliged to pay tribute to the vigor, address and courage of Agamemnon or Diomedes or Sarpedon. But as he went on he began to fear that he had understated the Christian argument ; hence in the latter half of his study he keeps wholly to the point of view of the moralist. But the suspicion arises in our minds that Chateaubriand is not wholly influenced by moral considerations in adopting this point of view nor was he wholly influenced by artistic considerations in doing justice to Priam and Ulysses and Agamemnon.

Through it all he is conforming to a personal bias, which makes it natural for him to admire certain features of Homer and not to admire others. He understands the pathos of Priam, the tenderness of Penelope and Ulysses ; hence he does them justice. He is incapable of appreciating Agamemnon or Diomedes or Sarpedon and hence he is unfair to them. That this is so is shown by a perusal of « Les Martyrs » or « Les Natchez » where the warrior is either *le chevalier preux* such as Eudore or Outougamiz or the savage such as Clodion or Ondouré. Sheer brilliancy, irrespective of moral qualities, such as is to be found in the warriors of Homer, is a trait Chateaubriand could not admire and therefore could not imitate. Chateaubriand's characters may, like those of a melodrama, be apportioned among two categories, the heroes and the villains. Not so with those of Homer ; Agamemnon, in the lays of the first stratum, at least, is just as brilliant just as much the darling of the author, as is Achilles. The antagonism between them is a personal matter : it may be that Agamemnon is in the wrong, but he is not portrayed as having a perpetual bias in that direction. To be sure, in the « Odyssey » we have a whole class of men, the suitors, who are placed in an unfavorable light from the beginning to the end of the poem, but our chief concern here is with the warriors on the field of battle. Among the latter there is no one but Paris among the major characters whom the author continually slights.

It may be said, at the conclusion of our examination of Chateaubriand's views on Homeric characters, that his theory but confirms what his practice had already shown us : Chateaubriand is wholly blind to whatever is brilliant and vigorous in his model. In offering us in « Les Natchez » a likeness of heroic times he has put into his picture just what he was capable of appreciating in the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey » : the tenderness between husband and wife, the charm of naïve manners. The wonder is that he thought such qualities alone were sufficient to make the picture convincing. He may have justified himself by saying : « I don't admire the warriors of Homer, but there is a whole epic of Homer, the « Odyssey » in which war hardly figures ; this is the side of Homer that I wish

to reproduce. » But we have shown that whether Homer offers us a picture of war or peace, there is always a superabundant resourcefulness and vigor in his characters and that these qualities are wanting in those of Chateaubriand. The truth is that Chateaubriand is led by a secret bias to reconstruct, not the times of the Trojan War, but some far-off Age of Gold. His Greece we shall find is another fairyland, as was his America : the only difference between the two is that the inhabitants of his American Garden of Eden are a far more vigorous lot than are those who dwell in Messene. Yet it is the latter whom the author portrayed with the avowed purpose of resuscitating an age of brilliancy and vigor.

## 2. *Style.*

In Book 5 of the Second Part of « Le Génie du Christianisme » we find Chateaubriand's ideas on the style of Homer. He treats the subject under the form of a parallel between our author and the Bible. He announces that his terms of comparison are to be the following :

La simplicité,  
L'antiquité des mœurs,  
La narration,  
La description,  
Les comparaisons ou les images,  
Le sublime.

Let us see if the same incompleteness is to be found in Chateaubriand's conception of what constitutes the style of Homer that we have already found in his conception of what constitutes the Homeric character.

We may neglect certain among the six points of comparison given. *L'antiquité des mœurs* is not a point of style and does not concern our discussion. As for the sublime, we may perhaps accord the point that the Bible is superior in this particular.

Propos of simplicity Chateaubriand has this to say :

« La simplicité de la Bible est plus courte et plus grave ;

la simplicité d'Homère plus longue et plus riante. — La seconde aime à s'étendre en paroles et répète souvent dans les mêmes phrases ce qu'elle vient déjà de dire. — La simplicité du poète de Chio est celle d'un voyageur qui raconte au foyer de son hôte ce qu'il a appris dans le cours d'une vie longue et traversée. »

It is now apparent why Demodocus is so garrulous. Chateaubriand is perpetually obsessed with the idea that Homer is verbose.

Under Narration, Chateaubriand says :

« La narration d'Homère est coupée par des digressions, des discours, des descriptions de vases, de vêtements, d'armes et de sceptres, par des généalogies d'hommes ou de choses. Les noms propres y sont hérissés d'épithètes ; un héros manque rarement d'être divin, semblable aux Immortels, ou honoré des peuples comme un dieu. Une princesse a toujours de beaux bras, elle est toujours comme la tige du palmier de Délos, et elle doit sa chevelure à la plus jeune des Grâces. »

Under description we read :

« Les descriptions d'Homère sont longues, soit qu'elles tiennent du caractère tendre ou terrible ou triste ou gracieux ou fort ou sublime. »

Under comparisons :

« Les comparaisons homériques sont prolongées par des circonstances incidentes : ce sont de petits tableaux suspendus au pourtour d'un édifice, pour délasser la vue de l'élévation des dômes, en l'appelant sur des scènes de, paysages et de mœurs champêtres. »

As for Chateaubriand's remarks on Homer's comparisons, that they are introduced « pour délasser la vue », it has been shown earlier that this is but one of the reasons for which they are introduced and a secondary one at that : the main reason is that they help to train the reader's eyes more closely on the action. Description is almost always incidental in Homer.

Although Chateaubriand has distributed his criticism of Homer under several heads, we find that there runs through them a common misconception, namely that Homer's style is not direct either in narration or dialogue. This is surprising in view of Matthew Arnold's contention that the style of Homer is eminently rapid. It seems worth while at this point to produce examples of Homeric dialogue and narrative in order that the bard of Chios may speak for himself. In the first of the two following examples, Book 1, line 17, Chryses asks for his daughter :

« Ye sons of Atreus and all ye well-greaved Achæans, now may the gods that dwell in the mansions of Olympus grant you to lay waste the city of Priam, and to fare happily homeward ; only set ye my dear child free, and accept the ransom in reverence to the son of Zeus, far-darting Apollo. »

In the second, Book 1, line 42, Apollo spreads a pestilence among the Greeks in answer to the prayer of Chryses :

« So spake he in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him, and came down from the peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. And the arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath, as the god moved ; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly ; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow. First did he assail the mules and fleet dogs, but afterward, aiming at the men his piercing dart, he smote ; and the pyres of the dead burnt continually in multitude. »

If in need of further testimony that the style of Homer is rapid, the reader is referred to any passage he may choose to consult in Books 1, 11 and 16 of the « Iliad ». There are unfortunately portions of the poem due to later hands, such as Book 8, in which the narrative is confused and long-drawn out, but that Chateaubriand should believe these passages to be the rule and not the exception seems to bear testimony to his unfamiliarity with the book *in toto*. And indeed, that is the conclusion which the parallel of Homer and the Bible leads us to. In his study of Homeric characters there was nothing which indicated ignorance of his subject ; a personal bias led him to praise certain characters and to slight others. But now we have

statements which could not be made with full knowledge of the subject. It is doubtful whether in the whole range of literary criticism such inadequate pages are to be found as these of Chateaubriand on the style of Homer. The crowning proof of the ineptitude of this entire fifth book is to be found on page 279, just before the end of the Second Part of « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » :

« Nous terminerons ce parallèle et notre poétique chrétienne par un essai qui fera comprendre dans un instant la différence qui existe entre le style de la Bible et celui d'Homère ; nous prendrons un morceau de la première pour la peindre des couleurs du second. Ruth parle ainsi à Noémi :

« 'Ne vous opposez point à moi, en me forçant à vous quitter et à m'en aller ; en quelque lieu que vous alliez, j'irai avec vous. Je mourrai où vous mourrez ; votre peuple sera mon peuple et votre Dieu sera mon Dieu.'

« Tâchons de traduire ce verset en langue homérique ;

« La belle Ruth répondit à la sage Noémi, honorée des peuples comme une déesse : Cessez de vous opposer à ce qu'une divinité m'inspire ; je vous dirai la vérité telle que je la sais et sans déguisement. Je suis résolue de vous suivre. Je demeurerai avec vous, soit que vous restiez chez les Moabites, habiles à lancer le javelot, soit que vous retourniez au pays de Juda, si fertile en oliviers. Je demanderai avec vous l'hospitalité aux peuples qui respectent les suppliants. Nos cendres seront mêlées dans la même urne, et je ferai au Dieu qui vous accompagne toujours des sacrifices agréables.

« Elle dit : et comme, lorsque le violent zéphyr amène une pluie tiède du côté de l'occident, les laboureurs préparent le froment et l'orge et font des corbeilles de jonc très proprement entrelacées, car ils prévoient que cette ondée va amollir la glèbe et la rendre propre à recevoir les dons précieux de Cérès, ainsi les paroles de Ruth, comme une pluie féconde, attendrissent le cœur de Noémi. »

« Autant que nos faibles talents nous ont permis d'imiter Homère, voilà peut-être l'ombre du style de cet immortel génie. Mais le verset de Ruth, ainsi délayé, n'a-t-il pas perdu ce charme original qu'il a dans l'Ecriture ?

Quelle poésie peut jamais valoir ce seul tour « *populus tuus populus meus, Deus tuus Deus meus* ». Il sera aisé maintenant de prendre un passage d'Homère, d'en effacer les couleurs et de n'en laisser que le fond à la manière de la Bible. »

It may be that the difference that exists between Homer and the Bible can be shown in an instant, but it would be hard to agree that Chateaubriand's talents (« feeble » as he too truly calls them) have done the trick. Chateaubriand's imitation of Homer on a small scale is here as inadequate as was elsewhere his imitation on a large, i.e. in « *Les Natchez* ». The most glaring fault in the passage is the introduction of a comparison of a type which we have shown to be practically non-existent in the « *Iliad* » and only occasional in the « *Odyssey* ». He was doubtless led to introduce it by the example of a similar comparison in the passage from the « *Odyssey* » describing the reunion of Ulysses and Penelope. But surely in a passage which is presented as typical a comparison of the usual visual type would have been in order. To make the imitation less faithful a second comparison of the type we have called emotional, a simile proper according to some rhetoricians, is introduced immediately after the first : « *comme une pluie féconde* ». Our complaint with the rest of the imitation is that whereas it bears resemblance perhaps to such passages as the farewell scene between Hector and Andromache (Andromache might conceivably have said such words) it is at the best the reproduction of but a small part of Homer : the energy, the directness of many another passage is wholly wanting. Yet surely an imitation which is going to make it « easy to take a passage of Homer, to efface its colors, and to leave only its substance in the manner of the Bible » should reflect the poem as a whole, its elements of strength, not only its elements of weakness. But the softer elements of Homer are those which Chateaubriand prefers ; more than that they are almost the only elements of the author he knows.

We should note before leaving the subject of Chateaubriand's Homeric criticism that these pages afford the first direct evidence we have been able to discover of first-hand

contact between the author of « *Les Martyrs* » and his remote original. As in the « *Essai sur les Révolutions* » the translations we here find are not so extensive as to impress us overmuch, nor are they models of exactitude. Nevertheless, the quotations here and the many references in the notes of « *Les Martyrs* » and « *l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* » to the text of Homer indicate that in some manner or other, with the aid perhaps of Latin or French versions or, possibly, only with a dictionary Chateaubriand did puzzle out the meaning of a considerable number of passages in the « *Iliad* » and the « *Odyssey* ». With the means at his disposal the present author has not been able to determine whether the translations in « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » have been affected by a previous French version ; in any case, they are not derived from Madame Dacier.

The parallels between branches of literature other than epic in Greek and modern times that fill the rest of Books two and three of « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » need not detain us. The merest generalities about the Greeks, the detailed treatment of French classical writers, show convincingly that at this time Chateaubriand had dealt directly with no Greek writer in extenso except Homer. Certainly no other Greek author had so endeared himself to him or become the object of his meditations. We must now go on to see what fruit this preoccupation in Homer bore in « *Les Martyrs* ».

*Note 1. — Miscellaneous References to Greek Literature in « Le Génie du Christianisme » :*

The references to Greek literature scattered throughout *Le Génie du Christianisme* seem to come from the same sources as those in *Essai historique sur les Révolutions* and therefore do not constitute a separate problem. Practically all he says about Greek philosophers may be traced to Barthélemy, Dacier or Rollin. It hardly seems worth while to give the subject any further attention here except to indicate the strangeness of Chateaubriand's opinions concerning certain works and authors. Thus in a note to chapter 4 of Book 2 of the First Part, he tells us, apropos of Plato : « Les douze livres de ses lois, sont, à notre avis, son meilleur ouvrage », a judgement which modern opinion would hardly corroborate, « *The Laws* » being the work of Plato's old age when the brightness of his intelligence had been somewhat dulled. We know now that the verses that have come down under the name of Phocylides are not by that au-



thor, who was a contemporary of Theognis, but were composed unders Judaic or Christian influence. Their testimony to a belief in the resurrection is then of no value for classical times, as Chateaubriand believed it was in quoting three lines from them, in the Greek, in chapter 7 of Book 6 of the First Part.

*Note 2.* — Professor Gilbert Chinard calls my attention to a note (133) to Renan's, *Avenir de la Science*, which is of the greatest interest here « Nous n'ôterons rien à la gloire de l'illustre auteur du *Génie du Christianisme* en lui refusant le titre d'helléniste. Il admire (*Génie du Christ.* liv. V, chap. 1 ou 11) la simplicité d'Homère ne décrivant la grotte de Calypso que par cette simple épithète, tapissée de lilas. Or, voici le passage 'én spési glaphuroisi lilaïoméne pósin einai'. Je crois, Dieu me pardonne, qu'il a vu des lilas dans 'lilaïoméne'. » The reference is to line 15 of Book 1 of the « *Odyssey* » and so far as I have been able to determine Renan is justified in his suspicion.

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## V. — HOMERIC IMITATION IN « LES MARTYRS »

### I. *Characters.*

In instituting a comparison between the Homeric poems and « Les Martyrs » we are but accepting the challenge of Chateaubriand himself. When, at the beginning of his prose epic, he invokes the « Muse céleste » and the « Vierge du Pinde », the Christian and the Pagan Muse respectively, the latter is somewhat naively invited to « adorn the former's triumph by her defeat ». In more prosaic terms the triumph of the one, the defeat of the other, are sought in order to illustrate the author's favorite thesis that the Christian religion is « plus favorable que le Paganisme au développement des caractères et au jeu des passions dans l'épopée » (Préface de la première et de la seconde édition). But though in the career that is traced before them the « Vierge du Pinde » is to bow before the « Muse céleste », we must not think that the victory of the latter is to be won only by the cooperation of the author. Chateaubriand intends to be impartial ; he really believes that he will be as successful in resuscitating Homeric antiquity as in reviving the spirit of the third century A. D. If one period is shown superior to the other it will not be because one has had a better chance than the other to speak for itself.

« Pour rendre le lecteur juge impartial de ce grand procès littéraire, il m'a semblé qu'il fallût chercher un sujet qui renfermât dans un même cadre le tableau des deux religions, la morale, les sacrifices, les pompes des deux cultes : un sujet où le langage de la *Genèse* pût se faire entendre auprès de celui de l'*Odysée* ; où le Jupiter

d'Homère vînt se placer à côté du Jéhovah de Milton sans blesser la piété, le goût et la vraisemblance des mœurs. »

But in choosing a century when paganism and Christianity exist side by side, Chateaubriand might be reproached with opposing « les mœurs chrétiennes dans toute leur jeunesse et toute leur beauté » « aux mœurs païennes dans leur décadence ». That is why he has chosen his heroine from the clan of the Homeridae, a clan which like similar clans in the Scottish Highlands in his day, as Chateaubriand says, might be conceived to possess an antique simplicity. Démodocus and Cymodocée, descendants of Homer, are therefore supposed to be bona fide Grecians of the Homeric age. Chateaubriand even avows his fondness for them. « Je n'ose avouer ma faiblesse pour Démodocus. Si l'on compare sa douleur à celle de Priam, sa joie est-elle tout à fait dénuée de cette simplicité antique qui a tant de charmes dans Homère et ce qu'il dit ici, par exemple, passerait-il dans la bouche de Nestor pour un bavardage insipide ? » (Note, Book 4 of « Les Martyrs »).

#### DÉMODOCUS

The words he alludes to occur in Book 4 of « Les Martyrs ». Cyrille, the Bishop of Lacedemon, has just addressed Eudore who is shortly to begin the long récit which forms the substance of Books 4-13. Cyrille assures Eudore that even his pagan hearers, Cymodocée and Démodocus, will listen to his story with interest.

« Sage vieillard, dont l'habit annonce un pasteur des hommes, s'écria Démodocus, tu ne prononces pas une parole qu'elle ne soit dictée par Minerve. Il est vrai, comme mon aïeul le divin Homère, je passerais volontiers cinq et même six années à faire ou à écouter des récits. Y a-t-il rien de plus agréable que les paroles d'un homme qui a beaucoup voyagé, et qui, assis à la table de son hôte, tandis que la pluie et les vents murmurent au dehors, raconte, à l'abri de tout danger, les traverses de sa vie ! J'aime à sentir mes yeux mouillés de pleurs, en vidant la

coupe d'Hercule : les libations mêlées de larmes sont plus sacrées ; la peinture des maux dont Jupiter accable les enfants de la terre tempère la folle ivresse des festins, et nous fait souvenir des dieux. Et toi-même, cher Eudore, tu trouveras quelque plaisir à te rappeler les tempêtes que tu supportas avec courage : le nautonnier, revenu aux champs de ses pères, contemple avec un charme secret son gouvernail et ses rames suspendues pendant l'hiver au tranquille foyer du laboureur. »

Our present object must be to decide whether the above passage, expressing as it does a love of story-telling and the leisurely pleasures of a calm old age, would pass « dans la bouche de Nestor (whom we may consider the representative old man of Homer) pour un bavardage insipide ». Is the character of Démodocus modeled on that of Nestor, or, failing that, on the character of any other old man in either of the Homeric poems ? In other words, is Démodocus what he is supposed to be, Homeric ?

Nestor is loquacious. This we discover on his first appearance in the « Iliad », Book 1, line 247.

The following translation, like all the translations from the « Iliad » in this essay, is taken from the Lang-Leaf-Myers translation (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1915).

« Then in their midst rose up Nestor, pleasant of speech, the clear-voiced orator of the Pylians, he from whose tongue flowed discourse sweeter than honey. Two generations of mortal men already had he seen perish, that had been of old time born and nurtured with him in goodly Pylos, and he was king among the third. He of good intent made harangue to them and said : 'Alas, of a truth sore lamentation cometh upon the land of Achaia. Verily Priam would be glad and Priam's sons, and all the Trojans would have great joy of heart, were they to hear all this tale of strife between you twain that are chiefest of the Danaans in counsel and chiefest in battle. Nay, hearken to me ; ye are younger both of you than I. Of old days held I converse with better men even than you, and never did they make light of me. Yes, I never beheld

such warriors, nor shall behold, as were Perithoos and Dryas shepherd of the host and Kaineus and Exadios and godlike Polyphemos (and Theseus son of Aigeus, like to the immortals). Mightiest of growth were they of all men upon the earth ; mightiest they were and with the mightiest fought they, even the wild tribes of the mountain caves, and destroyed them utterly. And with these held I converse, being come from Pylos, from a distant land afar ; for of themselves they summoned me. So I played my part in fight ; and with them could none of men that are now on earth do battle. And they laid to heart my counsels and hearkened to my voice. Even so hearken ye also, for better it is to hearken. Neither do thou, though thou art very great, sieze from him his damsel, but leave her as she was given at the first by the sons of the Achaian to be a meed of honour ; nor do thou, son of Peleus, think to strive with a king, might against might ; seeing that no common honour pertaineth to a sceptred king to whom Zeus apportioneth glory. Though thou be strong, and a goddess bare thee, yet his is the greater place, for he is king over more. And thou, Atreides, abate thy fury ; nay it is even I that beseech thee to let go thine anger with Achilles, who is made unto all the Achaians a mighty bulwark of evil war. »

We learn from this passage, as we have said, that Nestor is loquacious. He is a braggart also ; he loves to allude to his former prowess. But his boasting is always with a purpose. He asserts his past merit in order to induce faith in his present counsel. And this counsel, we shall see, carries weight, though it is note-worthy that on this occasion his advice, that Achilles be allowed to keep Briseis, is not followed.

A tribute to Nestor's influence among the Greeks is found shortly after the beginning of Book 2. When Zeus wishes to drive Agamemnon to a course of action he sends a dream in the likeness of Nestor whom Agamemnon honored most of the elders (line 20). As a result of this dream Agamemnon called a council of the chiefs. The council assembles beside the ship of Nestor. Nestor's words at this meeting (lines 79-83) are unimportant.

We still find Nestor in the role of counselor in two further passages of Book 2 (lines 336-368 and lines 432-440). In the first he is speaking to the host, in the second he addresses the council. And we find further tokens of the esteem in which the old hero is held. Here are Agamemnon's words after the speech before the host (lines 370-374) :

« Verily has thou again outdone the sons of the Achaians in speech, old man. Ah, father Zeus and Athene and Apollo, would that among the Achaians I had ten such councillors ; then would the city of King Priam soon bow beneath our hands, captive and wasted. »

And in line 404 when Agamemnon calls the council he summons Nestor « first of all ».

It should be noted that in neither of the last two speeches of Nestor is there any allusion to his past exploits nor may he be accused of indirectness. The speech before the host deserves study for its vigor but is not quoted here because of its length.

In line 293 of Book 4 we find Nestor in a new guise, ordering his troops and giving them tactical advice. Agamemnon, taking a turn through the host, comes upon him, and pays him another compliment.

Nestor appears on two important occasions in Book 7. There is no one to accept Hector's challenge to a single fight, Menelaus having been dissuaded by his brother, until Nestor recounting his prowess in slaying Ereuthalion, the bearer of the mace, shames nine champions into coming forward. He has them cast lots and Ajax is chosen. In the second (lines 326-343) Nestor proposes to the Greeks to bury their dead and to build the wall which later plays such an important part in the battles before Troy. In this latter speech Nestor is not reminiscent.

We have seen Nestor as the counsellor, as the marshaller of his troops, as the reprover of the Grecian champions. In Book 8, line 80, we find him in the thick of the fight. Idomeneus, Agamemnon, the two Ajaces, all members of the Council of Eight (Book 2, line 405) have retreated, but a wounded horse detains the chariot of Nestor. Hector draws near while Nestor is disentangling the wounded horse and threatens to slay the aged hero but for the

intervention of Diomedes. Nestor's horses are driven back to the Grecian camp and Diomedes and Nestor advance against the Trojans in the chariot of the younger knight. Only a thunderbolt from Zeus, falling before the horses, preserves the Trojans from being driven into their city. Diomedes is still for going on but Nestor counsels prudence.

In Book 9 it is Nestor who (lines 52-78) advises the holding of a council and who, when the council meets, advises the sending of an embassy to wait on Achilles, in order that he may be roused to stem the advancing Trojan host. The embassy is sent but is unsuccessful. It is at Nestor's advice also (Book 10, lines 204-217) that a spy is chosen to go among the Trojans, encamped on the plain. Odysseus accepts the mission and brings back the horses of Rhesos. Nestor's words on seeing them might have been put into the mouth of the naïve Démodocus (lines 544-553).

Of the three further appearances of Nestor in the « *Iliad* » (Book 11, lines 510 seq. and 654 seq. Book 14, line 1 and Book 23, line 304), we may say that two are evident interpolations. When then in the second passage from Book 11 we find Nestor taking a hundred lines to recount an anecdote from his youth and when in Book 23 the story of the chariot race is interrupted in order that the old man may give rather lengthy and obvious advice to his son Antilochos as to how to guide the chariot we need not feel that these passages must be consulted in forming an authentic likeness of the son of Neleus. It will be better to complete our portrait with two striking tributes to the old counsellor from the lips of younger men, Diomedes and Menelaus. When Diomedes is roused from sleep in the dead of night by Nestor (Book 10, line 164) he has this to say:

« Hard art thou, old man, and from toil thou never ceasest. Now are there not younger sons of the Achaians, who might rouse when there is need each of the kings, going all round the host ? but thou, old man, art indomitable. »

The other tribute, from the lips of Achilles, occurs in Book 23, line 616. After the chariot race, the fifth prize, a two-handled bowl, is unclaimed : The following are Achilles' words in presenting the cup to Nestor :

« Lo now for thee too, old man, be this a treasure, a memorial of Patroklos' burying ; for no more shalt thou behold him among the Argives. Now give I thee this prise unwon, for not in boxing shalt thou strive, neither wrestle, nor enter on the javelin match, nor race with thy feet ; for grim old age already weigheth on thee. »

Nestor receives the gift with reminiscences of his feats of old and the implication that the honor done him is but his due :

« This gift do I accept with gladness, and my heart rejoiceth that thou rememberest ever my friendship to thee — (nor forget I thee) — and the honor wherewith it is meet that I be honored among the Achaians. And may the gods for this grant thee due grace. » These are the final words of Nestor in the « Iliad ».

Our investigation has shown us that in the majority of cases Nestor appears as the counsellor. In general his advice is heeded by the Greeks and the Gerenean knight is held in high esteem. That he is always ready with a suggestion shows that he possesses in a high degree the preeminently Greek quality of resourcefulness. Nestor is loquacious, particularly in some of the late additions to the poem, but it is the loquacity of a man who has once been very vigorous, full of memories of his former prowess, not curious of the great deeds of others. Nor is his vigor wholly a memory ; no one among the Greeks is more energetic. What resemblance is there between Homer's old man and Démodocus, this « roi » (as he with Cyrille and Lasthenes is called at the end of Book II of « Les Martyrs »), this old man of Chateaubriand, intended with his daughter Cymodocée to symbolize the manners of the Homeric time ?

The first speech of Démodocus in « Les Martyrs », Book I reveals one of his chief characteristics ; he is fond of commonplaces : « O fille d'Epicharis, craignons l'exagération qui détruit le bon sens : prions Minerve de nous accorder la raison qui produira dans son naturel cette modération, sœur de la vérité, sans laquelle tout est mensonge. » At the end of the same book : « O ma fille, dit le pieux Démodocus, tandis que le char vole, nous préserve le ciel de manquer de reconnaissance ! Les portes des



enfers sont moins odieuses à Jupiter que les ingrats (*Odyssey*, Book 14, 156) : ils vivent peu, et sont toujours livrés à une Furie ; mais une divinité favorable se tient toujours auprès de ceux qui ne perdent point la mémoire des bienfaits : les dieux voulurent naître parmi les Egyptiens, parce qu'ils sont les plus reconnaissants des hommes. » And shortly after the opening of the second book he touches on the same theme : « Ma fille, malheur à ceux que la pitié ou une vive reconnaissance n'arracha jamais au pouvoir de Morphée. Il n'est pas permis d'entrer dans les temples des dieux avec du fer : on n'entrera point dans l'Elysée avec un cœur d'airain. » As Démodocus with his daughter and the family of Lasthénès cross the Alpheus to the isle where Eudore gives the first part of the account of his wanderings he is struck with the contrast between Arcadian customs in his day and those of the time of Homer : « Arcadiens, qu'est devenue le temps où les Atrides étaient obligés de vous prêter des vaisseaux pour aller à Troie (*Iliad*, Book 2, lines 612-614) et où vous preniez la rame d'Ulysse pour le van de la blonde Cérès (*Odyssey*, Book 23, lines 268-278). Aujourd'hui vous vous livrez sans pâlir aux fureurs de la mer immense. Hélas ! le fils de Saturne veut que le danger charme les mortels et qu'ils l'embrasent comme une idole ! »

The narrative of Eudore has moved Cymodocée to tears. (Book 5) « Laissons donc s'attendrir ma Cymodocée : Jupiter a confié à la Pitié le cœur de la jeunesse. Nous autres vieillards, accablés du fardeau de Saturne, si nous avons pour nous la paix et la justice, nous sommes privés de cette compassion et de ces sentiments délicats, ornement des beaux jours de la vie. Les dieux ont fait la vieillesse semblable à ces sceptres héréditaires qui, passant du père au fils chez une antique race, paraissent tout chargés de la majesté des siècles, mais qui ne se couvrent plus de fleurs, depuis qu'ils se sont desséchés loin du tronc maternel. »

In another interlude of the narrative of Eudore (the beginning of Book 7) we hear more commonplaces. A Frankish slave has just been tending Eudore, wounded on the field of battle. « Par Hercule, s'écria Démodocus en interrompant le récit d'Eudore, j'ai toujours aimé les

enfants d'Esculape ! Ils sont pieux envers les hommes et connaissent les choses cachées. On les trouve parmi les dieux, les centaures, les héros et les bergers. Mon fils, quel était le nom de ce divin Barbare, pour qui Jupiter, hélas ! ne me semble pas avoir puisé dans l'urne des biens ? (*Iliad*, Book 24, lines 527-532). Le maître des nuées dispose à son gré du sort des mortels ; il donne à l'un la prospérité, il fait tomber l'autre dans toute sorte de malheurs. Le roi d'Ithaque fut réduit à sentir un mouvement de joie en se couchant sur un lit de feuilles séchées qu'il avait amoncelées de ses propres mains. Jadis, chez les hommes plus vertueux, un favori du dieu d'Epidaure eût été l'ami et le compagnon des guerriers : aujourd'hui il est esclave chez une nation inhospitalière. »

At the end of Book 9 Eudore in approaching the end of the episode of Velléda becomes embarrassed in his story; Cyrille to save the situation asks Séphora and her daughters to go to prepare the altar for the saying of mass. Cymodocée accompanies them. « Démodocus qui la voyait, passer comme une biche légère sur le gazon fleuri, s'écria, plein de joie :

« Quelle gloire peut égaler celle d'un père qui voit son enfant croître et s'embellir sous ses yeux ! Jupiter même aima tendrement son fils Hercule : tout immortel qu'il est, il ressentit des craintes et des angoisses mortelles parce qu'il avait pris le cœur d'un père... J'aime, je l'avouerais, tes Chrétiens : enfants des Prières, ils viennent partout, comme leurs mères, à la suite de l'Injure pour réparer le mal qu'elle a fait » (*Iliad*, Book 9, lines 502-512). Démodocus refers to this allegory again in Book 2, where, in a note, Chateaubriand wrongly attributes the words to Achilles. They are uttered by Phoinix addressing Achilles. « Ils sont courageux comme des lions et tendres comme des colombes ; ils ont un cœur paisible et intelligent ; c'est bien dommage qu'ils ne connaissent pas Jupiter ! Mais, Eudore, je parle encore malgré le désir que j'ai de t'entendre. Mon fils, tels sont les vieillards : lorsqu'ils ont commencé un discours, ils s'enchantent de leur propre sagesse, un Dieu les pousse, et ils ne peuvent plus s'arrêter. »

One more illustration, taken from the conclusion of

Book II, and perhaps enough will have been said of Démodocus' love of commonplaces. Eudore has just concluded his narrative. « Démodocus, resté seul avec sa fille, la serre tendrement dans ses bras et lui dit avec un pressentiment triste :

« Fille de Démodocus, tu seras peut-être aussi malheureuse à ton tour, car Jupiter dispose de nos destinées. Mais tu imiteras Eudore. L'adversité a augmenté les vertus de ce jeune homme. Les vertus les plus rares ne sont pas toujours le résultat de cette lente maturité que l'âge amène : la grappe encore verte, tondue par la main du vigneron, et flétrie sur le cep, avant l'automne donne le plus doux vin aux bords de l'Alphée et sur les coteaux de l'Erymanthe. »

Commonplaces were always a marked characteristic of Greek literature. They are not infrequent in the mouths of all Homeric characters. But the time when the commonplace may be said to have flourished most was the age of Hesiod or, a little later, the age of Theognis. To be so much addicted to them as is Démodocus is proof that the latter is not thoroughly Homeric. He is rather, à lui seul, a sort of chorus in a Greek tragedy, a department of literature in which the commonplace was always particularly rife.

The first two speeches of Démodocus quoted above indicate that he shares with Homer's heroes the virtue of hospitality. He hastens with his daughter to Lasthénès' home to repair what he considers a breach of courtesy, Cymodocée not having compelled Eudore to enter her father's house to receive his thanks for rescuing her when lost in the forest.

Démodocus is frank and naïve. He has compliments for everybody but unfortunately they often meet with but a cold reception. « O toi qui pouvais être le plus jeune de mes fils, » he cries to Eudore, « que les dieux t'accordent ce que tu désires ! Je t'apporte une coupe d'un prix inestimable : mon esclave l'ôtera de mon char, et tu le recevras de mes mains. Jeune et vaillant guerrier, Méléagre était moins beau que toi lorsqu'il charma les yeux d'Atalante ! Heureux ton père, heureuse ta mère, mais

plus heureuse encore celle qui doit partager ta couche ! Si la Vierge qu'on a retrouvée n'était pas consacrée aux chastes Muses... » Eudore's only answer is : « J'accepterai le présent que vous m'offrez, s'il n'a pas servi à vos sacrifices » (Book 2).

Démodocus meets with a like treatment at the hands of Lasthénès. « Tu me sembles tout à fait des temps antiques » says the priest of Homer, « et cependant je n'ai point vu tes paroles dans Homère. Ton silence a la dignité du silence des sages. Tu t'élèves à des sentiments pleins de majesté, non sur les ailes d'Euripide, mais sur les ailes célestes de Platon. Au milieu d'une douce abondance, tu jouis des grâces de l'amitié ; rien n'est forcé autour de toi ; tout est contentement, persuasion, amour. Puisses-tu conserver longtemps ton bonheur et tes richesses ! » Lasthénès' reply is characteristically moderate : « Je n'ai jamais cru que ces richesses fussent à moi : je les recueille pour mes frères les Chrétiens, pour les Gentils, pour les voyageurs, pour tous les infortunés : Dieu m'en a donné la direction ; Dieu me l'ôtera peut-être : que son saint nom soit béni ! »

The poor priest meets with a like rebuff from Cyrille.

« Par Apollon, s'écria Démodocus agitant la branche de laurier entourée de bandelettes, voilà le plus auguste vieillard qui se soit jamais offert à mes yeux ! O toi, qui es chargé de jours, quel est ce sceptre que tu portes ? Es-tu un roi, ou un prêtre consacré aux autels des dieux ? Apprends-moi le nom de la divinité que tu sers, afin que je lui immole des victimes. »

« Cyrille regarda quelque temps avec surprise Démodocus ; puis laissant échapper un aimable sourire :

« Seigneur, répondit-il, ce sceptre est la houlette qui me sert à conduire mon troupeau ; car je ne suis point un roi, mais un pasteur. Le Dieu qui reçoit mon sacrifice est né parmi des bergers dans une crèche. Si vous voulez je vous apprendrai à le connaître : pour toute victime il ne vous demandera que l'offrande de votre cœur. »

A little later (Book 2), at the dinner table, Démodocus, « saïssissant une coupe, allait faire une libation aux Pé-

nates de Lasthénès ». The Bishop of Lacedemon stopped him « with benignity ». « Notre religion nous défend ces signes d'idolâtrie : vous ne voudriez pas nous affliger. »

The quotations given are enough to reveal Démodocus' garrulity and impulsiveness. We are soon to see him in a less charming guise. From the moment of his daughter's betrothal, Démodocus becomes the man of sorrows. When he hears from a slave of the return of Hiéroclès to Arcadia, Hiéroclès the atheist, who loves Cymodocée with an unholy love, « une pâleur mortelle se répand sur le front de Démodocus ; ses genoux tremblants le supportent à peine. » (Book 13). He never recovers his self-control. Hear his words at Athens, before the departure of Cymodocée for Palestine : « Comment rester seul dans la Grèce ? Oh ! que ne suis-je libre de quitter les sacrifices que les peuples ont confiées à mes soins ! Que n'ai-je l'âge où je parcourais les villes et les pays étrangers, pour apprendre à connaître les hommes ! Comme je suivrais ma Cymodocée ! Hélas ! je ne te verrai donc plus danser avec les vierges sur le sommet de l'Ithome ! Rose de Messénie, je te chercherai en vain dans les bois du temple ! Cymodocée, je n'entendrai plus ta douce voix retentir dans les chœurs des sacrifices ; tu ne me présenteras plus l'orge nouvelle ou le conteau sacré ; je contemplerai, suspendue à l'autel, ta lyre couverte de poussière et ses cordes brisées ; mes yeux pleins de larmes verront se dessécher au pied de la statue d'Homère les couronnes de fleurs qu'embellissait ta chevelure. Hélas ! j'avais compté sur toi pour me fermer les yeux ; je mourrai donc sans pouvoir te bénir en quittant la vie ? Le lit où j'exhalerai mon dernier soupir sera solitaire : car, ma fille, je n'espère plus te revoir ; j'entends le vieux Nocher qui m'appelle ; à mon âge il ne faut pas compter sur les jours : lorsque la graine de la plante est mûre et séchée, elle devient légère, et le moindre vent l'emporte » (Book 15). And when the moment of parting comes (the same book) : « Le prêtre d'Homère ne pouvait plus se soutenir, ses genoux se dérobaient sous lui. Il disait à sa fille d'une voix éteinte :

« Ce port me sera funeste comme au père de Thésée : je ne reverrai point revenir ta voile blanche. »... Démodocus lève les mains et bénit ses enfants du fond du cœur,

mais sans pouvoir prononcer une parole... Les mariniers enlèvent Cymodocée, les esclaves entraînent Démodocus. »

These scenes of apprehension remind us of course of Priam (*Iliad*, Book 22, lines 25-76) calling to Hector from the walls of Troy. The passage is not reproduced here because of its great length and also because of general similarity to a passage of real mourning to be cited later.

Démodocus remains in the background until Book 21 when we have this picture of him at Rome whither he has gone, believing his daughter to be there in the power of Hiérocès : « Les astres finissaient et recommençaient leur cours, et retrouvaient Démodocus assis dans la poussière sous le portique de ce temple. Un manteau sale et déchiré, une barbe négligée, des cheveux en désordre et souillés de cendres, annonçaient le chagrin du vénérable suppliant. Tantôt il embrassait les pieds de la statue de la Miséricorde, en les arrosant de ses pleurs ; tantôt il implorait la pitié du peuple ; quelquefois il chantait sur la lyre pour tendre un piège aux passants, pour attirer par les accents du plaisir l'attention que les hommes craignent de donner aux larmes.

« O siècle d'airain ! s'écriait-il, hommes haïs de Jupiter pour votre dureté, quoi ! vous restez insensibles à la douleur d'un père ! Romains, vos ancêtres ont élevé des temples à la Piété filiale, et mes cheveux blancs ne peuvent vous toucher ! Suis-je donc un parricide en horreur aux peuples et aux cités ? Ai-je mérité d'être dévoué aux Euménides ? Hélas ! Je suis un prêtre des dieux ; j'ai été nourri sur les genoux d'Homère, au milieu du chœur sacré des Muses ! J'ai passé ma vie à implorer le ciel pour les hommes et ils se montrent inexorables à mes prières ! Que demandé-je pourtant ? Qu'on me permette de voir ma fille, de partager ses fers, de mourir dans ses bras avant qu'elle me soit ravie. Romains, songez à l'âge si tendre de ma Cymodocée ! Ah ! j'étais le plus heureux des mortels que le soleil éclaire dans sa course ! Aujourd'hui, quel esclave voudrait changer son sort contre le mien ? Jupiter m'avait donné un cœur hospitalier : de tous les hôtes que j'ai reçus à mes foyers et qui ont bu avec moi la coupe de la joie, en est-il un seul qui vienne

partager ma douleur ! Insensé est le mortel qui croit sa prospérité constante ! La Fortune ne se repose nulle part. »

This is grief in the authentic Homeric style, it is not more exaggerated than the grief of Priam or that of the young Achilles mourning for the death of Patroclus (Book 18, line 22 and seq. and Book 19, line 303 seq.). The Greeks have this in common with the heroes of romanticism that they are easily moved to tears. The difference is that the Greek is never wholly given up to his grief, as will be illustrated in the following passages. First let us look at the picture of Priam mourning for his son (Book 24, 159).

« Thus spake he (Zeus), and airy-footed Iris sped forth upon the errand. And she came to the house of Priam and found therein crying and moaning. His children sitting around their father within the court were bedewing their raiment with their tears, and the old man in their midst was close wrapped all over in his cloak ; and on his head and neck was much mire that he had gathered in his hands as he grovelled upon the earth. »

Up to this point the grief of Priam may be compared to that of Démodocus, but now a new phase appears. After communicating Iris' instructions to his wife Hecuba, namely, that he should go to ransom the body of his son, in spite of her effort to dissuade him he gets ready to go to the tent of Achilles. He grows irritated with the Trojans who stand about watching him select gifts to serve as ransom :

« Then he drave out all the Trojans from the colonnade, chiding them with words of rebuke : Begone, ye that dishonour and do me shame ! Have ye no mourning of your own at home that ye come to vex me here ? Think ye that it is a small thing that Zeus Kronos' son hath given me this sorrow, to lose him that was the best man of my sons ? Nay, but ye shall feel it, for easier far shall ye be to the Achaians to slay now that he is dead. But for me, ere I behold with mine eyes the city sacked and wasted, let me go down into the house of Hades.

« He said, and with his staff chased forth the men, and

they went forth before the old man in haste. Then he called unto his sons, chiding Helenos and Paris and noble Agathon and Pammon and Antiphonos, and Polites of the loud war-cry, and Deiphobos and Hippothoos and proud Dios ; nine were they whom the old man called and bade unto him : « Haste ye, ill sons, my shame ; would that ye all in Hector's stead had been slain at the swift ships ! Woe is me all unblest, since I begat sons the best men in wide Troyland, but none of them is left for me to claim, neither godlike Mestor, nor Troilus with his chariot of war, nor Hector who was a god among men, neither seemed he as the son of a mortal man but of a god : all these hath Ares slain, and here are my shames left to me, false-tongued, light-heeled, the heroes of the dance, plunderers of your own people's sheep and kids. Will ye not make me ready a wain with all speed, and lay all these thereon, that we get us on our way ! »

We have had occasion to study the further development of this episode, the Ransoming of Hector, in « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » where the scene of the meeting of Priam and Achilles is chosen by Chateaubriand as one of the bases for his analysis of the Homeric style. What we have read so far is enough to illustrate the point we set out to make, namely, that no one emotion predominates in any of Homer's characters, provided, that is, that the character is enough developed to be shown in more than a single phase. And one of the phases that comes to the fore is almost always vigorous and energetic. Démodocus therefore is no more the counterpart of Priam than he is of Nestor.

We have found that there is no character in the « *Iliad* » of whom Démodocus may be considered the representative. We have now to search for his counterpart in the « *Odyssey* ». What characters, by virtue of their age, may be considered ? Laertes, who appears in person only in the last book of the poem, is too old, though he suffers a marvelous rejuvenation through the power of Athena in order that he may help his son resist his foes. This rejuvenation alone affords the detail that is wanting in the portrayal of Démodocus, the reaction of energy that seems to characterize all Homer's men and women.



Odysseus, whose exact age we do not know, is still young enough to contend in the games successfully and his other countless feats of strength and address reveal that he is of another stuff than Chateaubriand's hero. Eumaeus, whom Croiset (page 368 of the first volume of his « Histoire de la Littérature grecque », Paris, 1910) calls, after Ulysses, the masterpiece of character study in the Odyssey is certainly unlike Démodocus in being energetic, yet if there is a character in all Homer whom the father of Cymodocée resembles it is the swineherd of Odysseus. To quote Croiset :

« Toutefois, parmi les auxiliaires d'Ulysse, celui qui tient le premier rang, ce n'est ni son père Laerte, ni même son fils Télémaque, c'est l'excellent serviteur que Fénelon appelait gracieusement « le bonhomme Eumée. »... (The author) a trouvé dans la peinture de ce caractère l'occasion d'utiliser ses plus charmantes qualités. Eumée est un vieillard ; les grandes passions sont étrangères à son âge comme à sa situation ; c'est donc surtout par le fin naturel des sentiments qu'il devait plaire, et le poète qui l'a représenté y a pleinement réussi. Il agit peu et ce qu'il fait est de médiocre importance. Mais il nous intéresse et nous attache sans agir. Son dévouement et sa fidélité à l'égard d'Ulysse et des siens n'ont rien de servile. C'est chez lui un sentiment ancien et profond qui a grandi peu à peu ; la reconnaissance et l'intérêt même y ont eu part au début ; puis l'habitude s'est formée et, avec l'âge, cette affection respectueuse est devenue comme une seconde nature ; l'absence d'Ulysse, les malheurs de Pénélope et de Télémaque l'ont avivée. Eumée joue auprès d'eux le rôle d'une sorte de protecteur, bien humble et bien impuissant, mais utile pourtant par son expérience et son dévouement. Il veille avec un soin jaloux sur le bien de son maître absent. Il est bon, hospitalier, pieux, et avec cela actif comme il convient à un homme chargé d'intérêts importants, défiant, ou tout au moins prudent, comme on l'est toujours plus ou moins quand on a beaucoup vécu. Il aime à parler, ce qui est bien de son âge, et il parle surtout de son maître dont sa pensée ne se détache jamais. On est ravi de voir comment le poète a

su faire de lui une figure épique et lui prêter même une sorte de majesté patriarcale, sans le grandir pourtant au delà des convenances de sa condition. »

If we are not prepared to admit that Chateaubriand has clothed Démodocus with the trait last mentioned above, « majesté patriarcale », we find nevertheless several characteristics that he possesses in common with Eumaeus. Like Eumaeus Démodocus is devoted to his task, the altar which he serves ; like him he is good, hospitable, pious ; like him he is fond of talk ; above all, like him, he knows but one thought, devotion to one he loves. We can not say however that he is « utile ».

Démodocus, we have said earlier, loves commonplaces. Eumaeus loves them too, perhaps even more than the ordinary Greek. In his second speech after his meeting with Odysseus we read :

(The following, like all the translations from the « Odyssey » in this book, is from the translation of Prof. A. T. Murray in the Loeb Classical Library, London, Heinemann, 1919) « Nay, stranger, it were not right for me, even though one meaner than thou were to come, to slight a stranger : for from Zeus are all strangers and beggars, and a gift, though small, is welcome from such as we ; since this is the lot of slaves, ever in fear when over them as lords their masters hold sway young masters such as ours. »

In his very next speech Eumaeus again indulges his habit :

« Verily the blessed gods love not reckless deeds, but they honour justice and the righteous deeds of men. Even cruel foemen that set foot on the land of others, and Zeus gives them booty, and they fill their ships and depart for home—even on the hearts of these falls great fear of the wrath of the gods. But these men here, look you, know somewhat, and have heard some voice of a god regarding my master's pitiful death seeing that they do not woo righteously, nor go back to their own, but at their ease they waste our substance in insolent wise, and there is no sparing. »

We could go on multiplying examples of the wise,

leisurely character of Eumaeus. To show the contrast between the swineherd and Démodocus, as we have shown the similarities, a passage from the twenty-second book, *The Slaying of the Suitors*, lines 160-204, will suffice. It is hard to imagine Démodocus playing the part of Eumaeus in such a scene as the following :

« Thus they spoke to one another. But Melanthius, the goatherd, went again to the store-room to bring beautiful armor ; howbeit the goodly swineherd marked him, and straightway said to Odysseus who was near :

« Son of Laertes, sprung from Zeus, Odysseus of many devices, yonder again is the pestilent fellow, whom we ourselves suspect, going to the store-room. But do thou tell me truly, shall I slay him, if I prove the better man, or shall I bring him hither to thee, that the fellow may pay for the many crimes that he has planned in thy house ? »

« Then Odysseus of many wiles answered him and said : 'Verily I and Telemachus will keep the lordly wooers within the hall, how fierce soever they be, but do you two bend behind him his feet and his arms above, and cast him into the store-room, and tie boards behind his back ; then make fast to his body a twisted rope and hoist him to the tall pillar, till you bring him near the roof-beams, that he may keep alive long and suffer grievous torment. '

« So he spoke, and they readily hearkened and obeyed. Forth they went to the store-room, unseen of him who was within. He truly was seeking for armor in the innermost part of the store-room, and the two lay in wait, standing on either side of the door-posts. And when Melanthius, the goatherd, was about to pass over the threshold, bearing in one hand a goodly helm, and in the other a broad old shield, flecked with rust-the shield of Lord Laertes, which he was wont to bear in his youth, but now it was laid by, and the seams of its straps were loosened-then the two sprang upon him and seized him. They dragged him in by the hair, and flung him down on the ground in sore terror and bound his feet and hands with galling bonds, binding them firmly behind his back, as the son of Laertes bade them, the much-enduring,

goodly Odysseus ; and they made fast to his body a twisted rope and hoisted him up to the tall pillar, till they brought him near the roof-beams. Then didst thou mock him, swineherd Eumæus, and say :

« 'Now verily, Melanthius, shalt thou watch the whole night through, lying on a soft bed, as befits thee, nor shalt thou fail to mark the early Dawn, golden-throned, as she comes forth from the stream of Oceanus, at the hour when thou art wont to drive thy shegoats for the wooers, to prepare a feast in the halls.'

« So was he left there, stretched in the direful bond, but the two put on their armour, and closed the bright door, and went to Odysseus, the wise and crafty-minded. There they stood, breathing fury, those on the threshold but four, while those within the hall were many and brave. »

The other old men of the « *Odyssey* », Nestor and Alcinous and Mentor and the bards Démodocus and Phemius are not fully enough sketched to make a comparison between them and Chateaubriand's hero profitable. It is useless for us to try to say whether Démodocus is the faithful protrait of a Homeric bard. There are no bards in the « *Iliad* », such a thing was not yet known and the two shown in the « *Odyssey* » reveal no personal characteristics. Like the authors of the Homeric lays themselves we can tell what they are only by that of which they sing. But the bards of Homer always sing of war. It is hard to imagine a song of war on the lips of Démodocus. That is one of his chief defects as a representative of the Homeric epoch : he seems completely to have lost the martial instinct. It is a fair conclusion then to say that even the writer of such a humane work as the « *Odyssey* » (humane as compared with the « *Iliad* ») is far too warlike to be represented by Démodocus. Démodocus is wanting not only in the general characteristics of his time and race ; he is wanting also in the special qualities of his profession.

## CYMODOCÉE

It is now time to leave the character of Démodocus and to direct our attention to that of his daughter, Cymodocée. We may at the outset eliminate the « Iliad » as containing no female character of such an age or position as to be compared with Chateaubriand's heroine. And among the characters of the « Odyssey » there is only one who need claim our attention, Nausicaa. A single passage—the one scene in which Nausicaa is a central figure—the meeting with Odysseus shortly after the latter's arrival in Scheria will form the basis of our comparison. With this we may contrast a similar scene, the first meeting of Eudore and Cymodocée, in the first Book of « Les Martyrs ». Reading the two passages in succession will reveal the enormous gulf between the conceptions of the two authors. Let us first give our attention to the passage from « Les Martyrs » :

(Cymodocée has come upon Eudore in the garb of a huntsman lying asleep in the woods by moonlight. She thinks it is Endymion and that she has disturbed a tryst of Artemis and her lover. Her deprecating cry awakens Eudore.

« Surpris de voir cette jeune fille à genoux, il se lève précipitamment.

« Comment ! dit Cymodocée confuse et toujours à genoux, est-ce que tu n'es pas le chasseur Endymion ? »

« Et vous, dit le jeune homme non moins interdit, est-ce que vous n'êtes pas un Ange ? »

(Note the « tu » and the « vous » which throughout « Les Martyrs » distinguish the Christians from naïve Pagans like Cymodocée and her father. Cymodocée, once a Christian, abandons the « tu », nor does she return to it even in the final moment when she and Eudore confront death in the Coliseum. This is unlike the Pauline of Corneille who in embracing Christianity learns to address her husband with « tu ».)

« Un Ange » ! reprit la fille de Démodocus.  
Alors, l'étranger plein de trouble :

« Femme, levez-vous ! on ne doit se prosterner que devant Dieu. »

Après un moment de silence, la prêtresse des Muses dit au chasseur :

« Si tu n'es pas un dieu caché sous la forme d'un mortel, tu es sans doute un étranger que les Satyrs ont égaré comme moi dans les bois. Dans quel port est entré ton vaisseau ? Viens-tu de Tyr, si célèbre par la richesse de ses marchands ? Viens-tu de la charmante Corinthe, où tes hôtes t'auront fait de riches présents ? Es-tu de ceux qui trafiquent sur les mers jusqu'aux colonnes d'Hercule ? Suis-tu le cruel Mars dans les combats, ou plutôt n'es-tu pas le fils d'un de ces mortels jadis décorés du sceptre, qui régnaient sur un pays fertile en troupeaux et chéri des dieux ? »

L'étranger répondit :

« Il n'y a qu'un Dieu, maître de l'univers, et je ne suis qu'un homme plein de trouble et de faiblesse. Je m'appelle Eudore ; je suis fils de Lasthénès. Je revenais de Thalamas, je retournais chez mon père ; la nuit m'a surpris ; je me suis endormi au bord de cette fontaine. Mais vous, comment êtes-vous seule ici ? Que le ciel vous conserve la pudeur, la plus belle des craintes après celle de Dieu ! »

Le langage de cet homme confondait Cymodocée. Elle sentait devant lui un mélange d'amour et de respect, de confiance et de frayeur. La gravité de sa parole et la grâce de sa personne formaient à ses yeux un contraste extraordinaire. Elle entrevoyait comme une nouvelle espèce d'homme, plus noble et plus sérieuse que celle qu'elle avait connue jusqu'alors. Croyant augmenter l'intérêt qu'Eudore paraissait prendre à son malheur, elle lui dit :

« Je suis fille d'Homère aux chants immortels. »

L'étranger se contenta de répliquer :

« Je connais un plus beau livre que le sien. »

Déconcertée par la brièveté de cette réponse, Cymodocée dit en elle-même :

« Ce jeune homme est de Sparte. »

Puis elle raconta son histoire. Le fils de Lasthénès dit :

« Je vais vous reconduire chez votre père. »

Et il se mit à marcher devant elle.

The passage from the sixth book of the « *Odyssey* » is too long to be quoted entire; in lines 101-109 we have a picture of Nausicaa :

« White-armed Nausicaa was leader of the song. And even as Artemis, the archer, roves over the mountains, along the ridges of lofty Taygetus or Erymanthus, joying in the pursuit of boars and swift deer and with her sport the wood-nymphs, the daughters of Zeus who bears the aegis, and Leto is glad at heart-high above them all Artemis holds her head and brow, and easily may she be known, though all are fair — so amid her handmaidens shone the maid unwed. »

Shortly afterwards (line 137) Odysseus appears before the dancing maidens :

« But terrible did he seem to them, all befouled with brine, and they shrank in fear, one here, one there, along the jutting sandspits. Alone the daughter of Alcinous kept her place, for in her heart Athene put courage and took fear from her limbs. She fled not, but stood and faced him ; and Odysseus pondered whether he should clasp the knees of the fair-faced maiden, and make his prayer, or whether, standing apart as he was, he should beseech her with gentle words, in hope that she might show him the city and give him raiment. And, as he pondered, it seemed to him better to stand apart and beseech her with gentle words, lest the maiden's heart should be wroth with him if he clasped her knees ; so straightway he spoke a gentle word and crafty. »

The following is the conclusion of Odysseus' speech, too long for quoting :

« Nay, O queen, have pity ; for it is to thee first that I am come after many grievous toils, and of the others who possess this city and land I know not one. Shew me the city, and give me some rag to throw about me, if thou hadst any wrapping for the clothes when thou camest hither. And for thyself, may the gods grant thee, all thy heart desires ; a husband and a home may they grant thee and oneness of heart—a goodly gift. For nothing is greater or better than this, when man and wife dwell in a home in one accord, a great grief to their foes and a joy to their friends ; but they know it best themselves. »

« Then white-armed Nausicaa answered him : 'Stranger, since thou seemest to be neither an evil man nor a witless, and it is Zeus himself, the Olympian, that gives happy fortune to men, both to the good and the evil, to each man as he will ; so to thee, I ween, he has given this lot, and thou must in any case endure it. But now, since thou hast come to our city and land, thou shalt not lack clothing or aught else of those things which befit a sore-tried suppliant when he cometh in the way. The city will I show thee and will tell thee the name of the people. The Phaeacians possess this city and land, and I am the daughter of great-hearted Alcinous, upon whom depend the might and power of the Phaeacians.

« She spoke, and called to her fair-tressed handmaids : Stand, my maidens. Whither do ye flee at the sight of a man ? Ye do not think, surely, that he is an enemy ? That mortal man lives not, or exists nor shall ever be born who shall come to the land of the Phaeacians as a foeman, for we are very dear to the immortals. Far off we dwell in the surging sea, the furthestmost of men, and no other mortals have dealings with us. Nay, this is some hapless wanderer that has come hither. Him must we now tend ; for from Zeus are all strangers and beggars, and a gift, though small, is welcome. Come, then, my maidens, give to the stranger food and drink, and bathe him in the river in a spot where there is shelter from the wind. »

Odysseus then bathes, after the maids have withdrawn at his request. When he has finished :

« Then he went apart and sat down on the shore of the sea, gleaming with beauty and grace ; and the damsel marvelled at him, and spoke to her fair-tressed handmaids, saying :

« Listen, white-armed maidens, that I may say somewhat. Not without the will of all the gods who hold Olympus does this man come among the godlike Phaeacians. Before he seemed to me uncouth, but now he is like the gods, who hold broad heaven. Would that a man such as he might be called my husband, dwelling here, and that it might please him here to remain. But come, my maidens ; give to the stranger food and drink.

« So she spoke, and they readily hearkened and obeyed,



and set before Odysseus food and drink. Then verily did the much-enduring goodly Odysseus drink and eat, ravenously ; for long had he been without taste of food.

« But the white-armed Nausicaa took other counsel. She folded the raiment and put it in the fair waggon, and yoked the stout-hoofed mules, and mounted the car herself. Then she hailed Odysseus, and spoke and addressed him : « Rouse thee now, stranger, to go to the city, that I may escort thee to the house of my wise father, where, I tell thee, thou shalt come to know all the noblest of the Phaeacians. Only do thou thus, and, methinks, thou dost not lack understanding : so long as we are passing through the country and the tilled fields of men go thou quickly with the handmaids behind the mules and the waggon, and I will lead the way. But when we are about to enter the city, around which runs a lofty well, — a fair harbor lies on either side of the city and the entrance is narrow, and curved ships are drawn up along the road, for they all have stations for their ships, each man one for himself. There, too, is their place of assembly about the fair temple of Poseidon, fitted with huge stones set deep in the earth. Here the men are busied with the tackle of their black ships, with cables and sails and here they shape and thin oar-blades. For the Phaeacians care not for bow or quiver, but for masts and oars of ships, and for the shapely ships, rejoicing in which they cross over the grey sea. It is their ungentle speech that I shun, lest hereafter some men should taunt me, for indeed there are insolent folk in the land, and thus might some baser fellow say, shall he meet us : « Who is this that follows Nausicaa, a comely man and tall, a stranger ? Where did she find him ? He will doubtless be a husband for her. Haply she has brought from his ships some wanderer of a folk that dwell afar-for none are near us—or some god, long-prayed for, has come down from heaven in answer to her prayers, and she will have him as her husband all her days. Better so, even if she has herself gone forth and found a husband from another people ; for of a truth she scorns the Phaeacians here in the land, where she has wooers many and noble ! ‘So will they say, and this would become a reproach to me. Yea, I would myself

blame another maiden who should do such a thing, and in despite of her dear father and mother, while yet they live, should consort with men before the day of open marriage.' »

In contrasting Nausicaa with Cymodocée we notice that in the two scenes their roles are the reverse one of another. As Eudore is the guide and Cymodocée follows in the scene from « *Les Martyrs* », so in the « *Odyssey* » the guide is Nausicaa and Odysseus does her bidding. It is interesting, among these resourceful people, to see the very man who incarnates that resourcefulness do what a girl tells him to do. The most striking characteristic of Nausicaa is her initiative. Throughout « *Les Martyrs* » we shall find that the rôle of Cymodocée is a passive one, except at the end when of her own accord she makes her way to the Coliseum and certain death. But at that time she is a Christian : we are concerned with her only in her pagan phase.

How different is the attitude of the two maidens, the one before Odysseus, the other before Eudore ! Cymodocée feels a mixture of love and respect, in Nausicaa's heart Athena put courage and took fear from her limbs. Cymodocée's love is that of the weaker nature toward the stronger, it is made of « confidence, respect and fear », it is an emotion which she would probably not communicate even though she stood amid her playmates like Nausicaa. All we know of the latter's feeling toward Odysseus we learn from her own avowal standing among her companions : « Would that such a man might be called my husband. » Her love is the more naïve and the more natural, it is roused by the « beauty and grace » with which Athena has clothed Odysseus, that of Cymodocée is born of Eudore's beauty too, but more than anything of his words of wisdom.

We should note there is nothing of the Sapho about Nausicaa, none of the passion we might (wrongly) expect to find in early times. « Would that such a man might be called my husband ! » she says, and later on she adds : « I would blame myself another maiden who should do such a thing, and in despite of her dear father and mother, while yet they live, should consort with men before the

day of open marriage. » This is of course the attitude of Cymodocée also. The difference is that Cymodocée, while respecting the conventions, is really in love with Eudore, her love finds time to develop and grow within them. Nausicaa on the contrary has been much wooed and is something of a coquette, we should imagine ; like any girl of her age she wishes to make a good marriage, and that is about as much as we can say of her interest in Odysseus.

The nurse Eurymédeuse calls up memories of Eurycleia and the nurses of Helen and Nausicaa. Eurycleia is the most carefully wrought of these characters and must be taken as the type of her profession. She may be described as the female counterpart of Eumæus. She has the same devotion to her master and mistress and she proves equally useful in the developement of the plot. Neither to be sure is essential to the story but both are foils, heightening the dignity of the principal characters, Odysseus and Penelope by the rare quality of their affection. Perhaps the most pathetic lines in the whole poem are those of Eurycleia on recognizing Odysseus :

« Verily thou art Odysseus, dear child, and I knew thee not, till I had handled all the body of my lord. »

The kindly old nurse is shown in an attractive light at the beginning of Book twenty-three, as she hastens to tell Penelope that her husband has returned and that the suitors are dead.

« Then the old dame went up to the upper chamber laughing aloud to tell her mistress that her dear husband was in the house. Her knees moved nimbly, but her feet stumbled beneath her ; and she stood above her lady's head, and spoke to her, and said :

« Awake, Penelope, dear child, that with thine own eyes thou mayest see what thou desirest all thy days. Odysseus is here, and has come home, late though his coming has been, and has slain the proud wooers who vexed his house, and devoured his substance, and oppressed his son. »

(Penelope is vexed at being awakened and will not believe her nurse.)

« Then the dear nurse Eurycleia answered her : 'I mock thee not, dear child, but in very truth Odysseus is here,

and has come home, even as I tell thee. He is that stranger to whom all men did dishonor in the halls. But Telemachus long ago knew that he was here, yet in his prudence he hid the purpose of his father, till he should take vengeance on the violence of overweening men.'

« So she spoke, and Penelope was glad, and let the tears fall from her eyelids. »

With this kindly active old dame we have to contrast the Eurymédeuse of Chateaubriand. Eurymédeuse is very unimportant. She is to be found only in the first and seventeenth books (in the latter for one very brief speech) and her disappearance is recorded in the eighteenth. She does nothing whatsoever to advance the plot. She is Cymodocée's companion through the forest in book one : it is perhaps not very high testimony to her utility as a nurse that she becomes separated from her ward. She is of course devoted to Cymodocée and the latter's father but there is no positive act in the book that bears witness to her affection. The best token she offers is her passive satisfaction that her ward has been found again :

« A l'instant même, s'élançant d'un bois voisin, Eurymédeuse, les bras ouverts, se précipite vers Cymodocée :

« O ma fille ! s'écrie-t-elle, quelle douleur tu m'a causée ! J'ai rempli l'air de mes sanglots. J'ai cru que Pan t'avait enlevée. Ce dieu dangereux est toujours errant dans les forêts, et quand il a dansé avec le vieux Sylène, rien ne peut égaler son audace. Comment aurais-je pu reparaître sans toi devant mon cher maître ! Hélas ! j'étais encore dans ma première jeunesse, lorsque, me jouant sur le rivage de Naxos, ma patrie, je fus tout à coup enlevée par une troupe de ces hommes qui parcourent l'empire de Téthys à main armée, et qui font un riche butin ! Ils me vendirent à un port de Crète, éloigné de Gortynes de tout l'espace qu'un homme, en marchant avec vitesse, peut parcourir entre la troisième veille et le milieu du jour. Ton père était venu à Lébène pour échanger des blés de Théodosie contre des tapis de Milet. Il m'acheta des mains des pirates : le prix fut deux taureaux qui n'avaient pas encore tracé les sillons de Cérés. Dans la nuit, ayant reconnu ma fidélité, il me plaça aux portes de sa chambre

nuptiale. Lorsque les cruelles Ilithyes eurent fermé les yeux d'Epicharis, Démodocus te remit entre mes bras, afin que je te servisse de mère. Que de peines ne m'as-tu point causées dans ton enfance ! Je passais les nuits auprès de ton berceau, je te balançais sur mes genoux ; tu ne voulais prendre de nourriture que de ma main, et quand je te quittais un instant, tu poussais des cris. »

« En prononçant ces mots, Eurymédeuse serrait Cymodocée dans ses bras, et ses larmes mouillaient la terre. »

With Eurymédeuse we come to the end of our study of the « Homeric » characters of « Les Martyrs ». A garrulous, unresourceful old man, his passive daughter, an incompetent nurse, such are the characters who, in the intention of their author, are to bring back to us the times of the « Iliad » and the « Odyssey ». We must now go on to see whether Chateaubriand has met with better success in reproducing other elements of the work of his master.

## 2. *Poetic Ornaments and Diction.*

### a) Comparisons

We have seen that the comparisons of the « Iliad » almost always heighten an impression of motion or sound, the motions of one or more men and the sound of the voices of one man or many. Action is their very essence. Moreover the object described is caught for one brief instant in its action. As now we look over the some hundred comparisons of « Les Martyrs » we find that not over two thirds of them conform to the Homeric model. For the very first comparison in the list, Book I, Chateaubriand refers us to the « Iliad », Book 17, line 53. Chateaubriand's simile runs as follows :

« Sa fille Cymodocée croissait sous ses yeux, comme un jeune olivier qu'un jardinier élève avec soin. »

To this he compares :

« As when a man reareth some lusty sapling of an olive in a clear space where water springeth plenteously, a goodly shoot fairgrowing ; and blasts of all winds shake it, yet it

bursteth into white blossom ; then suddenly cometh the wind of a great hurricane and wresteth it out of its abiding place and stretcheth it out upon the earth : even so lay Panthoos' son Euphorbos of the good ashen spear when Menelaos Atreus' son had slain him, and despoiled him of his arms.

It will be seen that the similarity between the two comparisons is very slight. If however Chateaubriand had referred to Book 18, line 56 he would have revealed a closer parallel :

« He shot up like a young branch...I reared him as a plant in a very fruitful field. »

The indication of Chateaubriand's inexactness in this case must not however cause us to stray from our main purpose which is to show to what extent the comparisons of « *Les Martyrs* » deviate from the Homeric model. The fifth comparison listed at the end of this chapter will be seen to be of a different type :

✓ « Ainsi qu'un simple pasteur que le sort destine à la gloire, l'Alphée roulait au bas de ce verger, sous une ombre champêtre, des flots que les palmes de Pise allaient bientôt couronner. »

The comparison here is between two abstractions, the destiny that awaits the shepherd and the destiny that awaits the river.

The simile next in order, Book 3, is also of a non-Homeric pattern :

« Les milices divines, frappées du son de la parole éternelle, restaient dans un muet étonnement : ainsi, lorsque la foudre commence à gronder sur de nombreux bataillons, près de se livrer au combat furieux, le signal est suspendu : moitié dans la lumière du soleil, moitié sous l'ombre croissante, les cohortes demeurent immobiles ; aucun souffle de l'air ne fait flotter les drapeaux, qui retombent affaissés sur la main qui les porte ; les mèches embrasées fument inutiles auprès du bronze muet ; et les guerriers, sillonnés du feu de l'éclair, écoutent en silence la voix des orages. »

The above, with its suggestion of mysterious gloom and far-off storm, is in Chateaubriand's manner at its best,

but one thing places it outside the Homeric category : the immobility of the actors. We have in line 394 of Book 2 a comparison illustrating the rousing of a host to thunderous applause but none anywhere of one being silenced.

Passing over several similes which conform to the Homeric model we come to the following :

« Les Romains, qui fuyaient, tournent le visage ; l'espérance revient au cœur du plus faible et du moins courageux ; ainsi, après un orage de nuit, quand le soleil du matin paraît dans l'orient, le laboureur rassuré admire l'astre qui répand un doux éclat sur la nature sous les lierres de la cabane antique, le jeune passereau pousse des cris de joie ; le vieillard vient s'asseoir sur le seuil de la porte ; il entend des bruits charmants au-dessus de sa tête, et il bénit l'Éternel. »

This is the comparison of a state of mind to a tangible object, a type of comparison found less than a half-dozen times in the « Iliad ». It has been said already that this type is commoner in the « Odyssey » though none too common there.

The list of comparisons is too long to admit of our quoting all that do not conform to the pattern of the « Iliad ». A study of the table given hereafter will reveal that at least one third of those listed belong to this class. Some of these are among the most striking passages in the book and several deserve quotation as excellent examples of illustrations of the mental life by means of material images. Such are the three following :

« Tout est changé sur ces bords, hors la superstition consacrée par le souvenir des ancêtres : elle ressemble à ces monstres d'airain que le temps ne peut faire entièrement disparaître dans ce climat conservateur ; leurs croupes et leurs dos sont ensevelis dans le sable, mais ils lèvent encore une tête hideuse du milieu des tombeaux » (Book II).

« Cymodocée rougit, et pleura en parlant de la sorte. On reconnaissait, dans son langage, les accents confus de son ancienne religion et de sa religion nouvelle : ainsi, dans le calme d'une nuit pure, deux harpes, suspendues aux souffles d'Eole, mêlent leurs plaintes fugitives ; ainsi

frémissent ensemble deux lyres dont l'une laisse échapper les tons graves du mode dorien, et l'autre les accords voluptueux de la molle Ionie ; ainsi, dans les savanes de la Floride, deux cigognes argentées, agitant de concert leurs ailes sonores, font entendre un doux bruit au haut du ciel ; assis au bord de la forêt, l'Indien prête l'oreille aux sons répandus dans les airs, et croit reconnaître dans cette harmonie la voix des âmes de ses pères » (Book 18, conclusion).

« Il n'est d'affreux que le commencement du malheur ; au comble de l'adversité, on trouve, en s'éloignant de la terre, des régions tranquilles et sereines : ainsi, lorsqu'on remonte les rives d'un torrent furieux, on est épouvanté, au fond de la vallée, du fracas de ses ondes ; mais à mesure que l'on s'élève sur la montagne, les eaux diminuent, le bruit s'affaiblit, et la course du voyageur va se terminer aux régions du silence dans le voisinage du ciel » (Book 20).

Now that we have shown Chateaubriand at his best in some of his non-Homeric comparisons we should study those which reveal him to be a very skillful follower of his master in the manipulation of a truly Homeric simile. In these we will find that his manner is rather that of the authors of the « *Odyssey* » than that of the authors of the « *Iliad* », by virtue of a trait which it will be seen he possesses in common with the former poets, exactitude. The four comparisons following are given as examples of Chateaubriand at his best in this field :

« Mérovée, rassasié de meurtres, contemplait, immobile, du haut de son char de victoire, les cadavres dont il avait jonché la plaine. Ainsi se repose un lion de Numidie, après avoir déchiré un troupeau de brebis ; sa faim est apaisée, sa poitrine exhale l'odeur du carnage ; il ouvre et ferme tour à tour sa gueule fatiguée qu'embarrassent des flocons de laine ; enfin il se couche au milieu des agneaux égorgés, sa crinière, humectée d'une rosée de sang, retombe des deux côtés de son cou, il croisse ses griffes puissantes ; il allonge la tête sur ses ongles ; et, les yeux à demi fermés, il lèche encore les molles toisons étendues autour de lui » (Book 6).

« Telle qu'on voit au sommet du Vésuve une roche cal-



cinée suspendue au milieu des cendres ; si le soufre et le bitume rallumés dans la montagne obscurcissent le soleil, font bouillonner la mer et chanceler Parthénope comme une Bacchante enivrée, alors la cime du volcan change sa forme mobile, la lave s'affaisse, la pierre roule et rentre en grondant au fond des entrailles brûlantes qui l'avaient rejetée ; ainsi Satan, vomi par l'Enfer, se replonge dans le gouffre béant (Book 8).

« Comme un chasseur des Alpes qui poursuit avec de grands cris une troupe de chamois bondissants parmi les rochers et les cascades ; si tout à coup un sanglier vient à s'élever au milieu des faons fugitifs, le chasseur effrayé recule, et reste les yeux fixes sur le terrible animal qui hérisse son poil et découvre ses défenses meurtrières : ainsi Hiéroclès reste interdit à l'aspect d'Eudore, qu'il reconnaît au milieu de sa famille » (Book 13).

« Eudore, resté debout au milieu de ces vieillards prosternés, ressemblait à un jeune cèdre du Liban, seul rejeton d'une forêt antique abattue à ses pieds » (Book 20).

It may be truthfully said that practically all the comparisons employed by Chateaubriand are apposite. That they reveal him to be a careful student of the Homeric simile is not however certain. Very few of them are at all reminiscent of the master. Once or twice, in his notes, Chateaubriand himself calls our attention to a simile in Homer that has a certain analogy with one of his own but usually the resemblance is not close. Such an analogy is to be found between a comparison of « Les Martyrs », Book 16, and the « Iliad », Book 3, line 222. Chateaubriand's simile, like one already quoted from « Les Martyrs » conveys the impression of silence :

« Lorsqu'une neige éclatante tombe de la voûte éthérée, souvent l'aiglon s'apaise ; les champs, muets, reçoivent avec joie les flocons nombreux qui vont mettre les plantes à l'abri des glaces de l'hiver : ainsi, quand le fils de Lesthénès recommença son discours, l'assemblée fit un profond silence afin de recueillir ces paroles pures qui semblaient descendre du ciel pour prévenir la désolation de la terre. »

To this Chateaubriand compares the following line from the « *Iliad* ».

« Words like unto the snowflakes of winter. »

In the « *Examen des Martyrs* » (Objections littéraires), Chateaubriand devotes several paragraphs to the defense of his comparisons. There is nothing to be gained in reproducing them here, except the opening sentences, to the sentiment of which we can fully subscribe and append them to our study of Homeric comparisons in « *Les Martyrs* » as a final judgement : J'ai peu puisé chez les anciens pour les comparaisons, celles des « *Martyrs* » m'appartiennent presque toutes. Les personnes dont le jugement fait ma loi pensent que c'est peut-être, avec les transitions, la partie la plus soignée de l'ouvrage. »

Book 1. Growth of young girl			
» Fleet	»	young olive	
» Youth	»	flock of doves	
» Sobs of girl	»	eagle	
		cries of little birds when the mother brings food	
Book 2 . River rising	»	shepherd destined to glory	
Book 3. Word of God silencing angels	»	thunder silencing armies	
Book 6. Shout of barbarians	»	sound of thunder, Ocean, Etna	
» Triangular battle formation repulsing foes	»	ship repulsing waves	
» Wounded warriors	»	bull stung by gad-fly	
» Horse	»	birch leaf	
» Flow of blood	»	winter torrents, Euripus	
» Warrior	»	lion resting from slaughter	
» Battle axe in forehead	»	woodsman's axe in tree	
» Dawn of hope	»	clear day after stormy night	
» Mingling of hair of fallen warriors	»	undulating flames and rays of Castor and Pollux	
» Horns of oxen showing above water	»	many rivers entering ocean	
Book 7. Old man wandering	»	wolf prowling	
Book 8. Satan plunging into hell	»	rock falling into volcano	
» Flight of angel	»	flight of thought	
» Universe	»	tent raised for a night	
» Torment of damned in hell	»	torment of African in desert	
» Satan among companions	»	wave loftier than others or tower among ruins	
» Satan's torment at loosing his prey	»	rage of seamonster cheated of his	
» Demon	»	fair flower on poisoned stem	
Book 8. Legions of devils	»	bats	

Book 9. Colonists choosing homes			exiles choosing theirs
» Assembly of Druids	»	»	assembly of demons
Book 10. Homesick youth by the sea		»	Ulysses and Trojan women
» Velléda in woods by night	»	»	Dido in Elysian fields
» Velléda	»	»	lamb
» Kindness	»	»	port
» Body of woman falling	»	»	woman harvesting who lies down to rest
Book 11. Pike of Alexander tracing cities		»	lance of Minerva producing olive
» Egypt	»	»	heifer that has bathed in the Nile
» Desert intruding on fertile lands	»	»	enemy
» Superstition surviving	»	»	ruins half buried in sand
» Sun	»	»	redhot millstone
» Three old men	»	»	three kings
Book 12. Galérius urged on to attack Christians		»	vulture other vultures encourage with cries
» Kindness of old age	»	»	tree whose branches bend closer to ground
» Galérius floating over blood to be shed	»	»	vinedresser forecasting floods of wine
» Hypocritical appearance of Galérius	»	»	dangerous waters reflecting Heaven
» Foreboding of danger	»	»	foreboding of storm on ocean
» Maiden	»	»	kid that has strayed
» Youth carrying maiden	»	»	peasant carrying lamb
» Two figures motionless	»	»	two poplar trees
Book 13. The heart		»	temple open yet untroubled by winds
» Wavering of mind	»	»	tacking of ship
» Old man on mountain	»	»	eagle
» Covetousness of Hiéroclès	»	»	covetousness of wolf
» Hiéroclès abashed on meeting Eudore	»	»	hunter pursuing chamois surprised to encounter wildboar

Book 13. Charm of Homer			
Book 14. Waking of Hiéroclos			
» Return of Eudore to righteousness	»	charm of serpent	waking of dead man
» Well-beloved	»		return of master to abandoned orchard
» Hair	»		lily
» Bride	»		palm-branches
» Girl clinging to father	»		dawn
» Design inspiring confidence	»		vine, flame or sail clinging to objects
			cock heard on ship in storm
Book 15. Father embracing children	»		willow protecting flowers
Book 16. Movement in assembly	»		wind amid grain
» Agitation of minds	»		movement of top, spindle, ebony or ivory on lathe
» Assembly receiving words of speaker joyfully	»		fields welcoming snow-flakes
» Hiéroclos alarmed	»		lion crouching in snare
Book 17. Girl attaching herself to new protector	»		vine clinging to a second tree when fir is over- thrown
» Girl	»		Michol, palm-tree
Book 18. Constantin, rebelling against repression	»		horse breaking free from chains
» Jerome	»		sea eagle
» Memories uniting	»		streams uniting
» Echo of two religions in language of convert	»		mingling of songs of harps, lyres, swans
Book 19. Bachelor beholding father's grief	»		shepherd hearing far-off battle
» Gathering of Christians, « wheat of the elect »	»		gathering of harvests
Book 20. Démodocus rising from bed	»		Pluton leaping up from his throne
» Signs of decadence in Hiéroclos	»		Dried crest above verdant branches of tree
» Sound of tears veiled woman	»		sound of spring unseen

Book 20. Hiérocles embracing Cymodocée			
» Calm after adversity	»	serpent encircling palm tree	
» Shortlived hope of Christians	»	quiet of upper reaches of torrent	
» Eudore among elders	»	shipwrecked catching momentary glimpse of shore	
» Eudore shrinking from praises of crowd	»	young cedar above fallen trunks	
» Cutting of thread of life	»	Young Canephore shrinking from crowd	
		Cutting of thread by weaver	
Book 21. Démodocus	»	caged eagle	
	»	serpent that has poisoned itself	
Book 22. Hiérocles aux abois	»	burning rafters falling	
» Galérius falling wounded	»	wounded warrior lying on banners	
» Eudore lying on robes of martyrs	»	submissiveness of dog slain by his master in the	
» Submissiveness of martyrs	»	hunt	
» Effect of cheering words	»	effect of breeze after dead calm at sea	
» Words of martyrs about to die	»	calls of swallows before emigrating	
» Martyrs	»	triumphant warriors	
Book 23. Girl	»	dove motionless with fright	
» Fading of resolution	»	melting of ice or bursting of bud	
» Ripe wisdom of martyrs of different ages	»	ripening of various harvests	
» Groans of father and daughter	»	complaints of halcyon and young	
» Démodocus' fear of losing daughter	»	fear of a man awakening, lest his dream be true	
Book 24. Cries and torments of Galérius	»	roars of bull tortured by serpent	
» Eudore	»	Arcadian huntsman	
» Cymodocée awaiting dawn	»	lark awaiting dawn in order to sing	
» Christians waiting to carry away corpse of	»	doves waiting near threshing floor to seize grain	
» <sup>martyr</sup> Girl clinging to husband's arm	»	snowflake on branch	
» Cymodocée falling	»	flower struck down	

## b) Epithets

Homer's second descriptive device is the epithet. This is commonly thought to apply only to the rather stereotyped epithets of gods and goddesses, men and women. It will be found on examination that it applies to inanimate objects as well, though in the latter case the choice of epithets is less conventional. It will be found also, as would be expected, that the greater or less use of epithets depends on the rapidity or slowness of the action described : Epithets are naturally much more common in the second case. This will be shown in the two following passages from the « Iliad », the first rapid and intense, the second slow-moving and of lesser import (*Iliad*, Book 1, lines 33-52).

« So said he, and the old man was afraid and obeyed his word, and fared silently along the shore of the loud-sounding sea. Then went that aged man apart and prayed aloud to king Apollo, whom Leto of the fair locks bare : « Hear me, god of the silver bow, that standest over Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos with might, O Smintheus ! if ever I built a temple gracious in thine eyes, or if ever I burnt to thee fat flesh of thighs of bulls or goats, fulfill thou this my desire ; let the Danaans pay by thine arrows for my tears.

« So spake he in prayer, and Phoebus heard him, and came down from the peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. An the arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath, as the god moved ; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly ; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow. First did he assault the mules and fleet dogs, but afterward, aiming at the men his piercing dart, he smote ; and the pyres of the dead burnt continually in multitude. »

« So they spoke and harnassed them in their dread armor. To the son of Tydeus did Thrasymedes steadfast in war give a two-edged sword (for his own was left by his ship) and a shield, and about his head set a helm of bull's hide, without cone or crest, that is called a skull-

cap, and keeps the heads of stalwart youths. And Meriones gave Odysseus a bow and a quiver, and a sword, and on his head set a helm made of leather, and with many a thong that is stiffly wrought within, while without the white teeth of a boar of flashing tusks were arrayed thick on either side, well and cunningly, and in the midst was a cap of felt » (*Iliad*, Book 10, lines 254-265).

Inasmuch as the action of the « *Iliad* » is on the whole rapid it will be seen how vain it is to claim that the style of Homer in this work at least is surcharged with epithets. A style that imitates him properly will be sparing in the use of adjectives ; to use them too much is to be subject to the same decadent influences that manifest themselves in the later, less original portions of the epic. This is to be borne in mind in considering Chateaubriand's theory of the Homeric style in « *Le Génie du Christianisme* ». The « *Odyssey* » as the more recent work might be supposed to show signs of the transition toward a more ornate style. A passage from the beginning of Book 7 however will show that the style of the « *Odyssey* » in narrative passages is not very different from that of the « *Iliad* » :

« So prayed he there, the much-enduring goodly Odysseus, while the two strong mules bore the maiden to the city. But when she had come to the glorious palace of her father, she halted the mules at the outer gate, and her brothers thronged about her, men like the immortals, and loosed the mules from the waggon, and bore the raiment within ; and she herself went to her chamber. There a fire was kindled for her by her waiting-woman, Eury-medusa, an aged dame from Apeire. Long ago the curved ships had brought her from Apeire, and men had chosen her from the spoil as a gift of honour for Alcinous, for that he was king over all the Phaeacians, and the people hearkened to him as to a god. She it was who had reared the white-armed Nausicaa in the palace, and she it was who kindled the fire for her, and made ready her supper in the chamber. »

It results from the above that authors who try to give a Homeric effect through the richness and frequency of their epithets are in no sense reproducing the Homeric style in its pristine simplicity. It is this that vitiates the



Homeric imitations of André Chénier, in such a passage as the following from « L'Aveugle » :

« Mais, ô bois, ô ruisseaux, ô durs cailloux,  
Quels doux frémissements vous agitèrent tous,  
Quand bientôt à Lemnos, sur l'enclume divine,  
Il forgeait cette trame irrésistible et fine  
Autant que d'Arachné les pièges inconnus  
Et dans ce fer mobile emprisonnait Vénus !  
Et quand il revêtit d'une pierre soudaine  
La fière Niobé, cette mère Thébaine,  
Et quand il répétait en accents de douleurs  
De la triste Aëdon l'imprudence et les pleurs,  
Qui, d'un fils méconnu marâtre involontaire,  
Vola, doux rossignol, sous le bois solitaire ;  
Ensuite, avec le vin, il versait aux héros  
Le puissant népenthès, oubli de tous les maux ;  
Il cueillait le moly, fleur qui rend l'homme sage ;  
Du paisible lotos il mêlait le breuvage :  
Les mortels oubliaient, à ce philtre charmés,  
Et la douce patrie et les parents aimés.

It cannot be said that Chateaubriand, in « Les Martyrs », has fallen into this fault. To be sure he makes but few attempts to reproduce the style of Homer in that work, but when he does, as in Cymodocée's song in Book 2 or when he qualifies the name of a classical hero or heroine with an adjective it will not be found that he exaggerates the Homeric practice. A passage from the song of Cymodocée is reproduced below :

« Après cette invocation, Cymodocée chanta la naissance des dieux, Jupiter sauvé de la fureur de son père, Minerve sortie du cerveau de Jupiter, Hébé fille de Junon, Vénus née de l'écume des flots, et les Grâces, dont elle fut la mère. Elle dit aussi la naissance de l'homme animé par le feu de Prométhée, Pandore et sa boîte fatale, le genre humain reproduit par Deucalion et Pyrrha. Elle raconta les métamorphoses des dieux et des hommes, les Héliades changées en peupliers, et l'ambre de leurs pleurs roulé par les flots de l'Eridan. Elle dit Daphné, Baucis, Clytie, Philomèle, Atalante, les larmes de l'Aurore devenues la rosée, la couronne d'Ariadne attachée au firmament. Elle ne vous oublia point, fontaines, et vous, fleuves nourriciers des beaux ombrages. Elle nomma

avec honneur le vieux Pénée, l'Ismène et l'Érymanthe, le Méandre qui fait tant de détours, le Scamandre si fameux, le Sperchius aimé des poètes, l'Eurotas chéri de l'épouse de Tyndare, et le fleuve que les cygnes de Méonie ont tant de fois charmé par la douceur de leurs chants. »

With the comparison and the epithet we have almost exhausted the poetic ornaments of Homer ; to these may be added description and allegory, both rather rare, particularly the second. The most famous example of description is of course that of the shield of Achilles beginning in line 478 of Book 18 of the « Iliad ». Another example is the description of the palace and gardens of Alcinous in lines 78-132 of Book 7 of the « Odyssey ». The frequency of epithets in the latter passage is particularly noteworthy. Chateaubriand's description of the frieze on the temple of Pity at Rome, Book 21 is too brief to bear much resemblance to the ample description of Homer. As for allegory there are only two instances in Homer, that of Infatuation, Book 19, line 91 and that of the Prayers, Book 9, line 502 : to quote the note of the Leaf and Bayfield edition to the former passage « the two stand alone in Homer, and it seems necessary to class them among the very latest parts of the poems ». The use of allegory therefore is not a Homeric trait.

The passage in which Chateaubriand has most closely imitated Homer is to be found at the end of Book 1, describing the preparation of the chariot for the journey of Démodocus and his daughter. To show the similarity the author of « Les Martyrs » has placed, in a note, the lines from the « Iliad », Book 5, line 722 on which his description is based. The reader, if interested, is asked to consult them there.

In conclusion it may be said that only one of the poetic ornaments employed by Homer has been widely imitated by Chateaubriand, namely, the comparison. If the spirit of the other ornaments is wanting it must be confessed that it is not through want of understanding but rather through lack of intention to imitate Homer very thoroughly in these respects. Chateaubriand thought to produce a Homeric effect through two means, the depicting of character and the use of the comparison. We have

shown that he failed in the first, and that he was in general successful in the second. Perhaps as thorough a study as he had made of the comparison would have lead him to like success in imitating the Homeric style in other respects, i.e. in diction. In that case the Homeric illusion would have been so far strengthened. But as Chateaubriand's object was not to write a poem entirely Homeric he could hardly have introduced in places a style that would have formed too great a contrast with the remaining parts. He therefore sought only those ornaments of style that could be used with propriety throughout.

### 3. *Narrative.*

In the preface to the third edition or « Examen des Martyrs » Chateaubriand, who, at the beginning of his prose poem, foreshadows his whole plot, attempts to justify his practice by the authority of the « Iliad ». He refers the reader to books eight and fifteen where he says the future developement of the plot of that poem is indicated. Unfortunately for Chateaubriand's thesis both these books are now considered to be additions to the original epic, « The Wrath of Achilles ». In lines 64-77 of Book fifteen Zeus delivers the following prophecy :

« Let them flee and fall among the many-benched ships of Achilles son of Peleus, and he shall rouse his own comrade, Patroklos ; and him shall renowned Hector slay with the spear, in front of Ilios, after that he has slain many other youths, and among them my son, noble Sarpedon. In wrath therefore shall goodly Achilles slay Hector. From that hour verily will I cause a new pursuit from the ships, that shall endure continually, even until the Achaians take steep Ilios, through the counsels of Athene. But before that hour neither do I cease in my wrath, nor will I suffer any other of the Immortals to help the Danaan there, before I accomplish that desire of the son of Peleus, as I promised him at the first, and confirmed the same with a nod of my head, on that day when the goddess Thetis clasped my knees, imploring me to honour Achilles, the sacker of cities ».

In the Leaf and Bayfield edition of the « Iliad » (Macmillan and Company, London, 1911) we find this note on the lines quoted above : « An interpolation. The prophecy of the course of the war is not in accordance with epic practice, and is quite unnecessary. And it does not agree with the facts : Achilles does not stir up Patroklos, but vice-versa...It is not clear whether line 69 means, as it would seem, from the death of Achilles, or from the sending of Patroklos ; in neither case is it true—at least so far as we know the legend of what happened after the death of Achilles—that the pursuit from the ships endured continually till the Achaians took Troy. »

The other passage referred to by Chateaubriand is to be found in Book 7 of the « Iliad », lines 473-477 :

« For headlong Hector shall not refrain from battle till that Peleus' son fleet of foot have risen beside the ships, that day when these shall fight amid the sterns in most grievous stress, around Patroklos fallen. Such is the doom of Heaven. »

This passage is from the book of which the Leaf and Bayfield edition (volume 1, page 423 of the edition referred to above) says « Of all the books in the « Iliad » there can be no doubt that (this) is the least original. Large parts at a time are made up of lines, and even whole speeches, taken bodily from other parts of the « Iliad ».] Even the famous simile with which the book ends (so beautifully translated by Tennyson)... « as when in Heaven the stars about the moon » contains a couplet taken verbatim from a yet finer simile in Book 16, lines 299-300, where it is certainly more in place than here. The only episode which has real claim to originality and merit of its own is the little « Aristeia of Teukros » in 266-329. »

While Chateaubriand may be excused for not knowing that the two passages he quotes as authorities are interpolations in the text of the original « Iliad », he is hardly to be excused for thinking that the « Iliad » in its unexpurgated state is a model for narration.

Chateaubriand appeals also to the practice of the author of the « Odyssey ». It is true that shortly after the beginning of the poem Zeus and the other gods on Olympus agree to further the return of Odysseus, in face of the

opposition of Poseidon. Athene, shortly after, under the guise of Mentès (not Mentor, as Chateaubriand says) communicates this intention to Telemachus who on her departure recognizes that he has conversed with a goddess. Unfortunately for Chateaubriand however we are again dealing with an interpolation, if we are to trust the judgement of Croiset (pages 272 and 280 of the « Histoire de la Littérature grecque », volume 1) but not with an interpolation so utterly gratuitous as the two indicated above in the « Iliad ». Croiset would place the assembly of the gods in Book 1 at the beginning of Book 5, so that in any case we have a foreshadowing of the future course of the poem. It is one thing however to forecast the plot from the lips of one of the characters, even though that character be a god, and another to forecast it in the opening lines of the epic : « Je veux raconter les combats des Chrétiens et la victoire que les Fidèles remportaient sur les Esprits de l'Abîme par les efforts de deux époux martyrs. The opening words of the « Odyssey » are far from being so definite :

« Tell me, O Muse, of the man of many devices, who wandered full many ways after he had sacked the sacred citadel of Troy. Many were the men whose cities he saw and whose mind he learned, aye, and many the woes he suffered in his heart upon the sea, seeking to win his own life and the return of his comrades. Yet even so he saved not his comrades, though he desired it sore, for through their own blind folly they perished-fools, who devoured the kine of Helios Hyperion ; but he took from them the day of their returning. Of these things, goddess, daughter, beginning where thou wilt, tell thou even unto us. »

There is one point in which Chateaubriand's narrative seems superior to that of the author of the « Odyssey ». Eudore's account of his past wanderings, told in the hearing of his own family, of Cyril and of Démodocus and his daughter, wins him the interest and love of the heroine of « Les Martyrs ». Odysseus' account, told to strangers with whom he tarries but a brief period, merely wins him a ship wherewith to continue on his way. Chateaubriand notes this in his « Examen ».

## VI. — « LES MARTYRS » AND « LE VOYAGE DU JEUNE ANACHARSIS »

We have seen that for his characters, for his situations and for the poetic ornaments that relieve his narrative Chateaubriand is, in a very large measure, indebted to Virgil and his imitators. As yet nothing has been said about local color in « Les Martyrs », the background of Messenia and Arcadia. Neither Virgil nor his successors could have supplied him with that. To be sure an idealized Arcadia is to be found in countless pastorals, in prose and verse, but such a detailed description either of Arcadia or Messenia is not to be found except in the writings of geographers, ancient or modern. In the first preface to « Les Martyrs » Chateaubriand writes : « Quelques-unes de ces descriptions sont même tout à fait nouvelles : aucun voyageur moderne, du moins que je sache, n'a donné le tableau de la Messénie, d'une partie de l'Arcadie et de la vallée de la Laconie. » Are we to accept this statement and conclude that Chateaubriand derived his information directly from Pausanias and Strabo ? It would be hard not to believe that he reached these authors through some intermediary, as we know was the case with most of the classical writers in the « Essai sur les Révolutions » and in « Le Génie du Christianisme ». And on this occasion we need not long remain in doubt, for Chateaubriand himself, in the « Remarques » added to « Les Martyrs » in 1809, tells us what this intermediary was : « Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis », the very authority he used in compiling his notes to the two works mentioned. In an early note the reader is referred to Pausanias, Pellegrin, Pouqueville and the « Voyage » and in another, following shortly after, Chateaubriand remarks : « Quant à l'étendue de la Messénie, j'ai suivi le calcul de l'abbé Barthélemy, qui s'appuie de

l'autorité de Strabon, liv. 8. » Not a very sweeping acknowledgment of indebtedness, but yet an admission.

What is the « Messénie » of Barthélemy ? The chapter devoted to this subject is to be found in Volume 4 (Chapter 40). Young Anacharsis disembarks on the shores of the Pamisus (Ce fleuve est le plus grand de ceux du Péloponèse). At the same time a band of exiles, led by an old man, Xénoclès, returns. « Nous nous joignîmes à ces étrangers, et après avoir traversé des plaines fertiles, nous arrivâmes à Messène, située comme Corinthe au pied d'une montagne, et devenue comme cette ville un des boulevards du Péloponèse. ....Les nouveaux habitants furent reçus avec autant de distinction que d'empressement ; et le lendemain ils allèrent offrir leurs hommages au temple de Jupiter, placé sur le sommet de la montagne, au milieu d'une citadelle qui réunit les ressources de l'art aux avantages de la position. ....Ce jour-là même, on célébrait en l'honneur de Jupiter une fête annuelle, qui attire les peuples des provinces voisines. Les flancs de la montagne étaient couverts d'hommes et de femmes, qui s'empressaient d'atteindre son sommet. Nous fûmes témoins des cérémonies saintes ; nous assistâmes à des combats de musique, institués depuis une longue suite de siècles. ....De la maison de Célénus (the priest of Jupiter), l'œil pouvait embrasser la Messénie entière, et en suivre les limites dans un espace d'environ 800 stades ; la vue s'étendait au nord, sur l'Arcadie et sur l'Elide ; à l'ouest et au sud, sur la mer et sur les îles voisines ; à l'est, sur une chaîne de montagnes, qui sous le nom de Taygète, séparent cette province de celle de Laconie. Elle se reposait ensuite sur le tableau renfermé dans cette enceinte. On nous montrait à diverses distances, de riches campagnes entrecoupées de collines et de rivières, couvertes de troupeaux et de poulains qui font la richesse des habitants. »

Anacharsis wonders at the paucity of inhabitants in such a fertile region. He is informed of the sad history of the Messenians. « Nous n'avions qu'une légère idée de ces révolutions ; Xénoclès s'en aperçut, il en gémit et adressant la parole à son fils : Prenez votre lyre, dit-il, et chantez ces trois élégies où mon père, dès notre arrivée en Libye (the place of refuge of the exiles) voulut, pour sou-

lager sa douleur, éterniser le souvenir des maux que votre patrie avait essuyés. » Then follow three elegies, devoted in succession to the three wars of Messenia.

The following paragraphs are from the conclusion of chapter 40, as Anacharsis, having satisfied his curiosity about the Messenians, prepares to leave for Lacinia :

« Nous sortîmes de Messène, et après avoir traversé le Pamisus, nous visitâmes la côte orientale de la province. Ici, comme dans le reste de la Grèce, le voyageur est obligé d'essuyer à chaque pas les généalogies des dieux, confondues avec celles des hommes. Point de ville, de fleuve, de fontaine, de bois, de montagne, qui ne porte le nom d'une nymphe, d'un héros, d'un personnage plus célèbre aujourd'hui qu'il ne le fut de son temps.

« Parmi les familles nombreuses qui possédaient autrefois de petits états en Messénie, celle d'Esculape obtient, dans l'opinion publique, un rang distingué. Dans la ville d'Abia, on nous montrait son temple ; à Gérانيا, le tombeau de Machaon son fils ; à Phères, le temple de Nicomaque et de Gorgasus ses petits-fils, à tous moments honorés par des sacrifices, par des offrandes, par l'affluence des malades de toute espèce. » At Pheres Anacharsis embarks for Cytherea on his way to Sparta.

Here then we have a picture of Messenia from the hands of a modern writer, a writer with whom we know Chateaubriand to have been thoroughly familiar. What use has Chateaubriand made of his model and was the « Messénie » of Barthélemy his only source ? In answer to the first question we may note that the site of the temple of Homer, in « Les Martyrs » corresponds to that of the house of Célénus, the priest of Jupiter, with a sweeping view of Messenia. Place names mentioned in both writers, with similar comments, may merely indicate a common familiarity with Pausanias or Strabo, but Chateaubriand's panorama should be compared with Barthélemy's :

« Des cités, des monuments, des arts, des ruines, se montraient çà et là sur le tableau champêtre : Andanies, témoin des pleurs de Mérope, Tricca qui vit naître Esculape, Gérénie qui conserve le tombeau de Machaon,



Phères, où le prudent Ulysse reçut d'Iphitus l'arc fatal aux amants de Pénélope, et Stenyclare retentissant des chants de Tyrtée. Ce beau pays, jadis soumis au sceptre de l'antique Nélée, présentait ainsi, du haut de l'Ithome et du péristyle du temple d'Homère, une corbeille de verdure de plus de huit cents stades de tour. Entre le couchant et le midi, la mer de Messénie formait une brillante barrière à l'orient et au septentrion, la chaîne du Taygète, les sommets du Lycée et les montagnes de l'Elide arrêtaient les regards. Cet horizon, unique sur la terre, rappelait le triple souvenir de la vie guerrière, des mœurs pastorales et des fêtes d'un peuple qui comptait les malheurs de son histoire par les époques de ses plaisirs. »

The above passage, compared with the preceding citations from Barthélemy, enables us to answer our second question : Was the Messénie of « *Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* » Chateaubriand's sole source ? No. There are places and circumstances mentioned in « *Les Martyrs* » not to be found in « *Le Voyage* ». Nor do the notes of the two works correspond. Barthélemy merely gives the reference to Pausanias or Strabo, sometimes to a few other writers, whereas Chateaubriand quotes, frequently, from the two geographers mentioned, the former, in French, the latter, in Latin. A French translation of Pausanias was made by Nicholas Gedoy (Paris, 1731, reprinted 1797). At the time Chateaubriand was compiling his notes the first French translation of Strabo was beginning to appear (*Géographie de Strabon, traduite du grec en français, par de la Porte du Theil, Coray et Letronne*, 5 volumes, 1805-1819). This explains why the quotations from Strabo are in the Latin version of Xylander, made in 1571, and reprinted as late as the Didot edition in 1853. It would seem that Chateaubriand was led by the notes of Barthélemy to consult the two main classical authorities for Messenian geography and history in non-Greek versions, in cases where the information he sought was not to be found in intermediate sources.

But though Chateaubriand made use of other authorities than Barthélemy, we must not allow to pass unnoticed a further particular in which it seems correct to assume that

the abbé's influence was felt. Does not the narrative of Xénoclès, delivered in this pastoral landscape, afford a parallel to the  *récit*  of Eudore, heard by his listeners on the banks of the Alphaeus? Though the  *récit*  is of the essence of epic poetry it would seem that Barthélemy's practice served to confirm Chateaubriand in following the tradition.

Other points of contact might be established between the Messenia of Barthélemy and that of Chateaubriand but we must go on now to a comparison of the treatment of Arcadia in the works of the two writers (1). We find less resemblance in the Arcadia than in the Messenia of the two authors. The reasons for this are easy to discover. Book 2 of « Les Martyrs » depicts the manners of early Christians in a setting with which those manners are not usually associated. Yet Chateaubriand himself in a note informs us that, according to the abbé Barthélemy, there existed in ancient Arcadia a spirit by no means alien to that of Lathénès and his family. He quotes in a note to Book 4 a passage from Book 4, page 313 of « Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » which it will not be out of place to reproduce here :

« On nous montra un petit champ et une petite chaumière. C'est là que vivoit, il y a quelques siècles, un citoyen pauvre et vertueux : il se nommoit Aglaüs. Sans crainte, sans désirs, ignoré des hommes, ignorant ce qui se passoit parmi eux, il cultivoit paisiblement son petit domaine, dont il n'avoit jamais passé les limites. Il étoit parvenu à une extrême vieillesse, lorsque des ambassadeurs du puissant roi de Lydie, Gygès ou Croesus, furent chargés de demander à l'oracle de Delphes, s'il existoit sur la terre entière un mortel plus heureux que ce prince. La Pythie répondit : ' Aglaüs de Psophis. ' »

But if here the abbé Barthélemy has offered Chateau-

(1) It may be noted that the details concerning Crete given by Chateaubriand at the beginning of « Les Martyrs » are not all to be found in Tournefort to whom he refers us (Tournefort, who is given among Barthélemy's references) and that we must here assume further investigation on the author's part.

briand a possible prototype of his Lasthénès, the rest of his description of Arcadia affords only contrasts. The manners of the Arcadians were originally wild and harsh. « Pour adoucir ces caractères farouches, des sages d'un génie supérieur, résolus de les éclairer par des sensations nouvelles, leur inspirèrent le goût de la poésie, du chant, de la danse et des fêtes. Jamais les lumières de la raison n'opérèrent dans les mœurs une révolution si prompte et si générale. Les effets qu'elle produisit se sont perpétués jusqu'à nos jours, parce que les Arcadiens n'ont jamais cessé de cultiver les arts qui l'avoient procurée à leurs aïeux.

« Invités journellement à chanter pendant le repas, ce seroit pour eux une honte d'ignorer ou de négliger la musique qu'ils sont obligés d'apprendre dès leur enfance, et pendant leur jeunesse. Dans les fêtes, dans les armées, les flûtes règlent leurs pas et leurs évolutions. Les magistrats persuadés que ces arts enchanteurs peuvent seuls garantir la nation de l'influence du climat, rassemblent tous les ans les jeunes élèves, et leur font exécuter des danses pour être en état de juger de leurs progrès. »

To this characterization of the Arcadians should be added Barthélemy's picture of the Ladon : « Outre cette fraîcheur, qui distingue les eaux de l'Arcadie, celles du Ladon, que nous traversâmes le lendemain, sont si transparentes et si pures, qu'il n'en est pas de plus belles sur la terre. Près de ces bords ombragés par de superbes peupliers, nous trouvâmes les filles des contrées voisines, dansant autour d'un laurier, auquel on venoit de suspendre des guirlandes de fleurs. La jeune Clytie, s'accompagnant de sa lyre, chantoit les amours de Daphné, fille du Ladon, et de Leucippe fils du roi de Pise. »

There was thus in the « Arcadie » of Barthélemy material for a very different picture from that to be found in « Les Martyrs ». It seems a token of Chateaubriand's good judgment, however, that he avoided presenting his reader with another Arcadia conceived in the ancient style. To have done so would have meant resurrecting the Arcadia of the pastorals, and the world had had enough of that. Had Chateaubriand placed his Homeric cha-

racters in Arcadia and his Christians in Messenia the picture would have been much more banal. As it is, Messenia is, in « Les Martyrs », a kind of Arcadia but an Arcadia with a difference.

Now that we have considered the Arcadia and Messenia of the two authors we have only to follow Démodocus and Cymodocée to Sparta and Athens, in order to complete our survey of Chateaubriand's Grecian landscape. Before doing so, however let us observe in Book 4 of « Les Martyrs » a tell-tale slip of Chateaubriand's memory. Eudore, sailing for Rome, was borne by adverse winds toward the Hellespont. On his return a Greek helped him to interpret the changing landscape. « Orphée entraîna les chênes de cette forêt au son de sa lyre ; .....voilà Naxos où Ariadne fut abandonnée ; Cécrops descendit sur cette rive, Platon enseigna sur la pointe de ce cap... » The present writer finds no record in classical authors of Plato teaching on the cape of Sunium (the point doubtless to which reference is made). But in Tome five of the « Voyage », page 42, we read :

« Nous n'avions pas averti Platon de notre voyage aux mines (of Laurium) ; il voulut nous accompagner au cap de Sunium, éloigné d'Athènes d'environ 330 stades ; on y voit un superbe temple consacré à Minerve. » There follows a brief description of the temple and one, more detailed, of the view from the cape. A storm arises and the company takes refuge in the temple. The sight of the tempest makes them wonder at the reason for such violent and indiscriminate outbreaks. « De là nous remontions à l'existence des dieux, au débrouillement du chaos, à l'origine de l'univers. Nous nous égarions dans nos idées, et nous conjurons Platon de les rectifier. Il étoit dans un recueillement profond ; on eût dit que la voix terrible et majestueuse de la nature retentissoit encore autour de lui. A la fin, pressé par nos prières, et par les vérités qui l'agitoient intérieurement, il s'assit sur un siège rustique, et nous ayant fait placer à ses côtés, il commença par ces mots : (etc.). »

Does not this involuntary anachronism show to what

extent Chateaubriand's conception of antiquity and Barthélemy's interpretation of it were identified? The passage in the « Voyage » is interesting also as one of the first, if not the first, in which the temple at Sunium received artistic treatment. In a note to page 43 we learn that Barthélemy was indebted to Le Roi, « Les Ruines de la Grèce », Paris, 1758 and 1770, for his description of the temple as it then was.

Sparta need not detain us long. Chateaubriand's brief description of the city and valley has little in common with Barthélemy's, and we have little occasion to observe the native customs of the Spartans, being almost entirely in a Christian milieu. Barthélemy dwells on the fact that Sparta was but a collection of poor villages, an impression not gained from the pages of « Les Martyrs ». In a note to Book XIV Chateaubriand fails to tell us that Barthélemy, as well as Wheler, Spon and d'Anville, located Sparta near the Eurotas, not as some others, erroneously, on the hillside at the modern village of Misistra, the Sparta of Byzantine times. In a later note he observes, apropos of the tomb of Leonidas : « J'ai cherché longtemps cette tombe, un Pausanias à la main. » As has been said before, it would appear that Chateaubriand knew Pausanias at first hand, though probably in a French translation, all his citations from that author being in French.

Like his description of Sparta Chateaubriand's description of Athens seems not to have been influenced by the text of Barthélemy. In both cases we are presented with panoramas which appear to be the result of his personal observation. How could a man, however, who had stood on the Acropolis imagine that the voice of an actor in the theatre below would have been audible to Eudore, standing with Cymodocée and her father on the steps of the Parthenon? « Comme le prêtre d'Homère prononçait ces mots, des applaudissements font retentir le théâtre de Bacchus ; l'acteur qui représentait Œdipe à Colone élève la voix, et ces paroles viennent frapper les oreilles d'Eudore, de Démodocus, et de Cymodocée :

« O Thésée ! unissez dans mes mains vos mains à celles de ma fille ! permettez-moi de servir de père à ma chère Antigone ! »

With the panorama from the Acropolis we may end our study of the relationship between « *Les Martyrs* » and « *Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* ». The importance of the latter work in Chateaubriand's literary development is that it early stirred his imagination, it led him to consult still other authors who had described the Grecian landscape and when he came to compose a work, the scene of which was laid in Greece, he chose as the principal scenes of his action places faithfully described by the abbé Barthélemy. Of his descriptions the only one that resembles to any great extent a description by Barthélemy is that of Messenia. Barthélemy, let us remember, had never been in Greece, though he used the writings of those who had.

*Note.* — Plato is represented as teaching at Sunium on two other occasions, in a note to *Les Martyrs*, book 17 (the first note to that book) and in the text of *Le Génie du Christianisme*, Part. 1, Book 1, Chapter 9.

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## VII. — L'ITINÉRAIRE DE PARIS A JÉRUSALEM

For the journal of a writer traveling ostensibly with the sole preoccupation of composing a work that should resurrect the spirit of Homeric times, the name of Homer occurs rarely enough in the « Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem ». In a note to page 156 (Garnier, edition) we learn that he carried a copy of Homer with him, with blank pages interleaved to take notes on. Now and then (pages 138, 155, 173 and 224) there are references to passages in the « Odyssey » and on five occasions (pages 114, 167, 197, 209 and 253) he quotes from Homer in the Greek.

Should we be surprised however at the paucity of references to Homer in the account of Chateaubriand's Grecian travels? It should be remembered that the chief sites of a nature to evoke Homeric memories lie on the limits of the Greek world, in the Ionian islands and at Troy. In the heart of Greece the only places particularly associated with Homer are Pylos and Sparta and they, after all, have only a minor significance. A man traveling in the Peloponnesus or in Attica would naturally be preoccupied with other events in Greek history than those recounted in the « Iliad » or the « Odyssey ». This portion of Chateaubriand's narrative must be considered from two points of view, first, as a journey to the sites that occupy a prominent position in « Les Martyrs » (the ostensible object of the trip), second, simply as a *voyage pittoresque* in Greece. But first let us consider more thoroughly the pages of Chateaubriand's narrative dealing with Homer and places connected with his poems.

The high spots of a journey devoted to Homer would, as we have said, be the Ionian islands and Troy, with Pylos and Sparta as points of minor interest. The hazards of travel willed that Chateaubriand should behold the two

chief Homeric sites and one of the others merely from a passing vessel ; only at Sparta did he actually tread the soil trod by the heroes of the « Iliad » or the « Odyssey ». The boat that carried him from Trieste to Greece was bound for Smyrna and the skipper had agreed to put Chateaubriand ashore at Modon (formerly Methone) near the southern extremity of the western shore of the Peloponnesus. Chateaubriand, after traversing the Peloponnesus and Attica, was to reembark on the same ship at Sunium, provided he were not too long in accomplishing his journey. Thus there was no opportunity for loitering either on the sea or the land journey. Of Fano, too near Corfu (Scheria), he tells us, to be Calypso's isle, Corfu, Ithaca, Pylos we have only a passing mention (exception made of the account of Corfu in post-Homeric times) and at Sparta where he sojourned but a few days Chateaubriand was more occupied with general archaeological interests than with Homer in particular. Finally the fears of his janissary prevented our traveler from visiting Troy on his journey by land from Smyrna to Constantinople ; he saw it only from his boat as he returned southward through the Dardanelles. His captain was unwilling that he should go ashore. Chateaubriand is not to blame then that his narrative is so little occupied with the scenes of Homer.

Though Chateaubriand failed to see Troy close at hand his impressions from a passing vessel are characteristic and worth quoting. A few paragraphs are here reproduced.

« Lorsque, le 21 septembre, à six heures du matin, on me vint dire que nous allions doubler le château des Dardanelles, la fièvre fut chassée par les souvenirs de Troie. Je me traînai sur le pont ; mes premiers regards tombaient sur un haut promontoire couronné par neuf moulins : c'était le cap Sigée. Au pied du cap je distinguais deux tumulus, les tombeaux d'Achille et de Patrocle. L'embouchure du Simois était à la gauche du château neuf d'Asie ; plus loin, derrière nous, en remontant vers l'Hellespont, paraissaient le cap Rhetée et le tombeau d'Ajâx. Dans l'enfoncement s'élevait la chaîne du mont Ida, dont



les pentes, vues du point où j'étais, paraissaient douces et d'une couleur harmonieuse. Tenedos était devant la proue du vaisseau : *est in conspectu Tenedos*.

« Je promenais mes yeux sur ce tableau, et les ramenaïs malgré moi à la tombe d'Achille. Je répétais ces vers du poète :

« L'armée des Grecs belliqueux élève sur le rivage un monument vaste et admiré ; monument que l'on aperçoit de loin en passant sur la mer, et qui attirera les regards des générations présentes et des races futures. »

« Les pyramides des rois égyptiens sont peu de chose, comparées à la gloire de cette tombe de gazon que chanta Homère et autour de laquelle courut Alexandre.

« Je n'ai rien à me reprocher : j'avais eu le dessein de me rendre par l'Anatolie à la plaine de Troie, et l'on a vu ce qui me força à renoncer à mon projet ; j'y voulus aborder par mer, et le capitaine du vaisseau refusa obstinément de me mettre à terre, quoiqu'il fût obligé par notre traité. Dans le premier moment, ces contrariétés me firent beaucoup de peine, mais aujourd'hui je m'en console. J'ai tant été trompé en Grèce, que le même sort m'attendait peut-être à Troie. Du moins j'ai conservé mes illusions sur le Simois ; j'ai, de plus, le bonheur d'avoir salué une terre sacrée, d'avoir vu les flots qui la baignent et le soleil qui l'éclaire.

« Je m'étonne que les voyageurs, en parlant de la plaine de Troie, négligent presque toujours les souvenirs de l'*Enéide*. Troie a pourtant fait la gloire de Virgile comme elle a fait celle d'Homère. C'est une rare destinée pour un pays d'avoir inspiré les plus beaux chants des deux plus grands poètes du monde. Tandis que je voyais fuir les rivages d'Ilion, je cherchais à me rappeler les vers qui peignent si bien la flotte grecque sortant de Tenedos et s'avancant, *per silentia lunae*, à ces bords solitaires qui passaient tour à tour sous mes yeux. Bientôt des cris affreux succédaient au silence de la nuit et les flammes du palais de Priam éclairaient cette mer où notre vaisseau voguait paisiblement. »

Is not the concluding paragraph characteristic, the

thought of Virgil mingled with that of Homer? Not only at Troy, throughout the whole Homeric world the thought of Virgil is always, for Chateaubriand, joined to the memory of Homer. And need we regret that Chateaubriand's vessel bore him so relentlessly past the shores of Troy? To judge by his reflections at other historic sites the loss for us is not great. On the Mound of Hissarlik, as at Sparta, he might have displayed an archaeological zeal that was largely superficial, and we might have had summaries of post-Homeric history of no great interest or originality. At the best Chateaubriand's impression would have been a hasty one and probably his judgment from a distance is what it would have been anyway (1).

Because of the play of fortune the real climax of Chateaubriand's Homeric journey is at Smyrna, Smyrna with its memories of Homer's boyhood as taught in Alexandrian legend and particularly in the late *Life of Homer*, and at Cyme and Neon-Tichos, where he was said to have sojourned. We learn Chateaubriand's feelings on approaching the last named places from the following paragraph, succeeding which is a quotation from Larcher's translation of the « *Vie d'Homère* », already mentioned in these pages as of importance in our author's development.

« Nous aperçûmes au loin, sur notre gauche, les ruines du Cyme, et nous avions Neon-Tichos à notre droite : j'étois tenté de descendre de cheval et de marcher à pied, par respect pour Homère, qui avoit passé dans ces mêmes lieux. »

« Quelque temps après, le mauvais état de ses affaires le disposa à aller à Cyme. S'étant mis en route, il traversa la plaine de l'Hermus, et arriva à Neon-Tichos, colonie de Cyme : elle fut fondée huit ans après Cyme. On prétend qu'étant en cette ville chez un armurier, il récita ces vers, les premiers qu'il ait faits : « O vous, citoyens de l'aimable fille de Cyme, qui habitez au pied du mont Sardène, dont le sommet est ombragé de bois qui répan-

(1) Troy, the city, had not of course been discovered in Chateaubriand's day. But the general Trojan landscape was identified.

dent la fraîcheur, et qui vous abreuve de l'eau du divin Hermus, qu'enfanta Jupiter, respectez la misère d'un étranger qui n'a pas une maison où il puisse trouver un asile ! »

« L'Hermus coule près de Neon-Tichos, et le mont Sardène domine l'un et l'autre. L'armurier s'appeloit Tychius : ces vers lui firent tant de plaisir qu'il se détermina à le recevoir chez lui. Plein de commisération pour un aveugle réduit à demander son pain, il lui promit de partager avec lui ce qu'il avoit. Méléligène étant entré dans son atelier, prit un siège, et en présence de quelques citoyens de Neon-Tichos, il leur montra un échantillon de ses poésies : c'étoient l'expédition d'Amphiaratis contre Thèbes et des hymnes en l'honneur des dieux. Chacun en dit son sentiment, et Méléligène ayant porté là-dessus son jugement, ses auditeurs en furent dans l'admiration.

« Tant qu'il fut à Neon-Tichos, ses poésies lui fournirent les moyens de subsister : on y montrait encore de mon temps le lieu où il avoit coutume de s'asseoir quand il recitoit ses vers. Ce lieu, qui étoit encore en grande vénération, étoit ombragé par un peuplier qui avoit commencé à croître dans le temps de son arrivée. »

« Puisque Homère avoit eu pour hôte un armurier à Neon-Tichos, je ne rougissais plus d'avoir eu pour interprète un marchand d'étain à Smyrna. Plût au ciel que la ressemblance fût en tout aussi complète, dussé-je acheter le génie d'Homère par tous les malheurs dont le poète fut accablé ! »

We now come to the second aspect of the « Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, only to meet with a second disappointment. The journey to Greece was undertaken, Chateaubriand tells us, to obtain local color for « Les Martyrs », the greater part of which, however, was already written. We have seen from our study of Chateaubriand's prose epic that the only places where the background is painted in any detail are Messenia and Arcadia. The descriptions of Sparta and Athens are very brief. But Chateaubriand merely passed by Mount Ithome, and the city of Messene, whose walls he did not see. That he did not climb the mountain is proved by the fact that he

questions whether the walls of the city could have embraced it and supposes the city must really have been situated not around it but in front. Had he climbed the mountain he would have seen that the city walls actually do cross some of the spurs of Mount Ithome, where the traveler is still shown, among other ruins, the well-preserved Arcadian Gate. The day he saw Ithome Chateaubriand left Corone, on the gulf of that name, at two in the morning. After two hours' crossing he reached the further shore of the bay at the mouth of the Pamisus which was found too shallow for a skiff. At night-fall Chateaubriand and his comparisons were far up a defile or Hermaeum (as these passages were called in antiquity), « sur les confins de la Messénie, de l'Arcadie et de la Laconie ». We can see then how superficial was Chateaubriand's survey of the opening scene of his narrative. And what of the other major scene, Arcadia, particularly the banks of the Ladon? Chateaubriand never saw the waters of the Ladon and merely touched the southern part of Arcadia. From the defile where he arrived the night of his passing at Messene he went on to Tripolitza which he reached in the course of the next day, failing to turn aside, as he tells us, to see the ruins of Megalopolis. From Tripolitza he went on to Sparta. As the Ladon flows farther to the north he could not have seen it.

Thus, though Chateaubriand's object should have been to see Messene and the banks of the Ladon, the one he saw not at all and of the other he had only a fleeting view. As a journey undertaken to obtain local color the « Itinéraire » seems inconclusive. It is evident that whether the descriptions of Messenia and the Ladon were penned before or after the journey to Greece their chief inspiration is to be found, as has been already suggested, in the pages of « Le jeune Anacharsis ». The brief descriptions of Sparta and Athens were perhaps made after the voyage, as they have more the ring of personal observation. Brief as they are they remain, with possibly a few minor details, the sole fruits of Chateaubriand's excursion in Greece.

« L'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem » is then, after all, merely a *voyage pittoresque*, an interesting one, to be sure, and embellished with some beautiful descriptions, more

beautiful, often, than similar descriptions in « Les Martyrs ». But there is another point of view from which Chateaubriand would have us consider his book and render a favorable verdict : he would have us believe that his report has an archaeological value. « Quand je n'aurais fait que déterminer l'emplacement de Lacédémone, découvrir un nouveau tombeau à Mycènes... », he tells us near the beginning of his Avertissement, « je mériterais encore la bienveillance des voyageurs. » But in demonstrating once more that Sparta lay near the Eurotas, and not on the mountain side at Misitra, he merely repeats what the best authorities had maintained before him. The plan of the city he gives is substantially that to be found in « Le Jeune Anacharsis », at the end of volume 4, page 527, edition of 1790, as he himself tells us on page 109 in the « Itinéraire » of the edition of 1811 (the second). There is here, then, no great claim to originality, and though bee-hive tombs were a rarity in Chateaubriand's time, whereas today a great many have been discovered in the Argive plain and elsewhere, the discovery of one even then had scarcely the importance that he would ascribe to it.

*Note.* — On leaving the Greek world Chateaubriand is unable to pass the island of Cyprus without quoting at some length from « Le Télémaque », additional evidence of the importance of Fénelon in the formation of our author's style and poetic conception.

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### VIII. RECAPITULATION

« L'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem » is the terminus ad quem of our study. Chateaubriand's concern with Greek studies after the publication of that work was only incidental. We may now sum up in a few words the conclusions at which we have arrived in the course of our investigation. In his youth Chateaubriand read and loved « le Télémaque ». Some time after 1788 (the date of its first appearance) he became familiar with « le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis » and (perhaps at an earlier date) Rollin's « Histoire Ancienne ». He was led by his admiration for « le Télémaque » to attempt a prose epic, « Les Natchez », and the conception of Greece shown in the « Essai sur les Révolutions », as well as most of the references that give the work an appearance of scholarship, was derived from Barthélemy and Rollin. Traces of the influence of both are to be found also in « Le Génie du Christianisme ». The local color of « Les Martyrs » was drawn mainly from Barthélémy's work. The Alexandrianism native to French imitators of antiquity was further nourished in Chateaubriand by works like the late « Life of Homer » and « The Contest of Homer and Hesiod », a tendency uncorrected by a certain familiarity with Homer in the original. To these influences must be added the critical dicta of Boileau and La Harpe, the writings of Mably on Greece, and a few historians and geographers of classical times whom Chateaubriand read in translations. And we must not neglect the effect upon him of intercourse with men like Fontanes and Joubert, by the former of whom he was introduced to the writings of Chénier.

These united influences were in almost every respect baleful ; they affected adversely almost half of his work,

and we can only conjecture what he might have been had he not been subject to them. In attempting the epic of the man of nature in « *Les Natchez* » he might have drawn a more realistic picture and in resurrecting the Graeco-Roman world in « *Les Martyrs* » he might have given us Greeks worthy of comparison with his Franks, Greeks, that is, who were really of their time, as were his Romans. But Chateaubriand must not be judged too harshly for his inability to rise above a misconception of which many generations of his countrymen had been guilty. Neither Fénelon nor Racine understood Homer much better than he. Yet of all great French writers he is perhaps the first of whom it may be said that the influence of Homer and the Greeks really did him harm, and the reason would seem to be that, unlike his predecessors, he was not well grounded in the literature that so attracted him.

If, in conclusion, it be asked in what works, slight as it may be, is the influence of Homer to be found, we must answer, not in the « *Essai sur les Révolutions* » nor in « *Les Natchez* », in the former of which Homer is barely mentioned whereas in the second there is no Homeric coloring that might not equally have been derived from Virgil, but solely in « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » and « *Les Martyrs* ». In « *Le Génie [du Christianisme]* » Chateaubriand shows himself a sympathetic and competent critic of the gentler elements of the Homeric poems, yet in giving us what he considers an exact imitation of Homer's style he writes as if he thought the gentler elements alone were typical : in other words he fails lamentably to appreciate the virile qualities of his model. The same criticism applies to the Homeric [portions of « *Les Martyrs* » where we have in extenso the same ridiculously one-sided reproduction afforded us in « *Le Génie du Christianisme* » when Chateaubriand attempts to clothe an episode from the « *Book of Ruth* » in the language of the « *Odyssey* ». Only in one way can Homer be said to have stimulated Chateaubriand healthily in his creative work, namely, in his use of the comparison, an element of style in which the author of « *Les Martyrs* » is very successful. It is to his credit that the comparisons of

Chateaubriand are in the main original and stamped with his special qualities. As the tendency to poetic comparisons is to be found in the very earliest writings of Chateaubriand, the study of Homer would seem merely to have encouraged what was already native in his disciple.

In the « *Essai sur la Littérature Anglaise* » occurs a passage which shows that in 1836 at least Chateaubriand was aware of the Homeric question as propounded by Wolf and others but that he still clung to the legend of the blind bard of Smyrna. With this late testimony that after all the mythic Homer, and not the poems ascribed to him and the evidence they offered, lay nearest to his heart let us take leave of our author :

« Qu'Homère n'ait pas existé ; que ce soit la Grèce entière qui chante au lieu d'un de ses fils, je pardonne aux érudits cette poétique hérésie ; mais toutefois je ne veux rien perdre des aventures d'Homère. Oui, le poète a nécessairement joué dans son berceau avec neuf tourterelles ; son gazouillement enfantin ressemblait au ramage de neuf espèces d'oiseaux. Niez-vous ces faits *incontestables* ? Comment comprendrez-vous alors la ceinture de Vénus ? Nargue des anachronismes ! Je tiens que la vie du père des fables a été retracée par Hérodote, père de l'histoire. Pourquoi donc serais-je allé à Chio et à Smyrne, si ce n'eût été pour y saluer l'école et le fleuve de Mélésgènes, en dépit de Wolf, de Woold, d'Ilgén, de Dugaz-Montbel et de leurs semblables ? Des traditions relatives au chantre de l'Odyssée, je ne repousse que celle qui fait du poète un Hollandais. Génie de la Grèce, génie d'Homère, d'Hésiode, d'Eschyle, de Sophocle, d'Euripide, de Sapho, de Simonide, d'Alcée, trompez-nous toujours ; je crois ferme à vos mensonges ; ce que vous dites est aussi vrai qu'il est vrai que je vous ai vu assis sur le mont Hymète, au milieu des abeilles, sous le portique d'un couvent de caloyers : vous étiez devenu chrétien, mais vous n'en aviez pas moins gardé votre lyre d'or et vos ailes couleur du ciel où se dessinent les ruines d'Athènes. »



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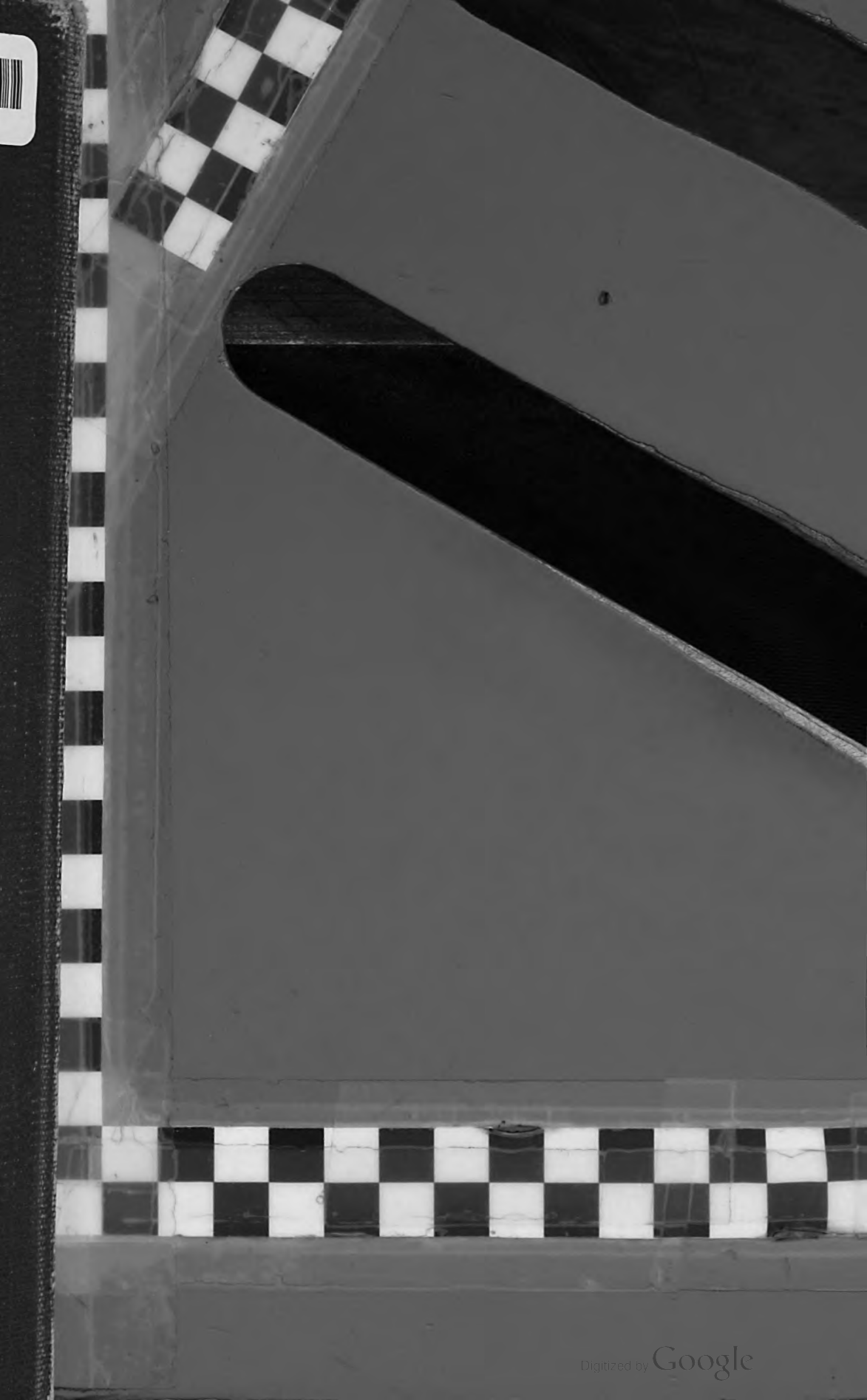




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